

**The Second World War and its New
World of Wines, with comparative reference
to South Africa and the U.S.A.,
c. 1939 – 1945.**

by
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Declaration

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D.S.R. du Toit

Abstract

The following dissertation offers an investigative history of the transformation of two *New World* wine producers during the Second World War. Notable changes in the South African wine industry will be compared to that of California.

The Second World War fundamentally altered technology, production, marketing, distribution, export capabilities, structure and consumption in the above-mentioned wine industries.

Using the Union of South Africa as a point of departure, it will be shown how the War was both a predicament and an opportunity.

This is by no means an extensive enquiry into these two wine industries in this period. Instead, it serves as a contribution to the miraculous and bottomless vat that is wine history.

Opsomming

Die volgende tesis bied 'n ondersoekende geskiedenis van die transformasie van twee *Nuwe Wêreld*-wynindustrië gedurende die Tweede Wêreld Oorlog. Belangrike veranderinge in die Suid Afrikaanse wynindustrie in hierdie tyd sal vergelyk word met dié van Kalifornië.

Die Tweede Wêreld Oorlog het beide die genoemde wynindustrië wesenlik geaffekteer in terme van tegnologie, produksie, bemarking, distribusie, uitvoervermoëns, struktuur en verbruik.

Deur die Unie van Suid Afrika te gebruik as 'n vertrekpunt, sal daar gewys word hoe die Oorlog beide 'n kwessie en 'n geleentheid was.

Dit is geensins 'n omvattende studie van die twee wynindustrië nie, maar dien liewer as 'n bydrae tot die wonderlike en bodemlose vaatjie van wyngeskiedenis.

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Preface: “Pinotage smells of wet newspaper and feet”

When my parents first drove into the autumn dusk of the Cape I was pretending to be asleep on the backseat of our Toyota Corolla. I thought that this would disqualify me from moving furniture from the bakkie in front of us when we got to our new home in Raithby, an old Methodist mission station village outside Stellenbosch. I was about the size of my own scarf; far smaller than the box of wine my parents had ironically brought from Pretoria. My mother asked my father about a cellar we drove past, which had ‘1945’ written on it. “Wasn’t that during the Second World War?” my mother asked. “I think so,” my father replied. It was quiet for a while before she asked another question: “Do you think it was bombed earlier in the War?”

Although South Africa was never a battlefield of the Second World War, some of its industries were fundamentally altered by the conflict of 1939-1945.

The wine industry in particular underwent certain transformations. One example of drastic change was the production of natural wines and brandies. Wine for distilling, which amounted to 152 722 gallons of wine at 20% strength in 1929, increased to 290 308 gallons by the end of 1939. In 1944 this became a staggering 509 792 gallons.¹ Brandy consumption rose within the Union and in some instances it broke into new markets abroad. Overall, the K.W.V. (Ko-operatiewe Wijnbouwers Vereniging) made its biggest profits ever by selling *Cape Smoke*, a rough distilled wine, for the war effort. The massive £6 million profit made during the war, a figure not widely known, was a turning point in the K.W.V.’s history.²

At the same time, consumers in the United States of America saw one of the most extensive wine advertising campaigns ever. Wine consumption rose significantly from 0.259 gallons per capita in 1934 to 0.836 gallons in 1942.³ Adding to this, the unavailability of European wines during the war, even if it made out a relatively small amount of wines bought in America, gave Californian wines an opportunity to prove their credibility to a captive audience.

¹ Departement van Landbou, *Jaarverslag Van Die Sekretaris Van Landbou* (Pretoria: State printer, 1945), 181.

² Ritzema de la Bat, interview with author, August 22, 2016.

³ The Wine Institute of California, “Statistical review of 1943,” *Wines and Vines* 25, no. 4 (April 1944): 34.

The reasoning behind this thesis, first and foremost, is to create a narrative of the South African wine industry during the Second World War. Its aim is to highlight important changes in production, marketing, distribution, exports, consumption, expansion, centralisation and various socio-economic concerns in this period. A discussion of Californian wines runs parallel to this inquiry in order to further illuminate change.

I would like to thank Professor Bill Nasson, my grandparents, my parents and my siblings for all your sacrifices and support. I dedicate this work to Kathryn, who has shown that she can be all-forgiving as I disappear for days on end into my blanket-heap of damp newspapers in the Stellenbosch University underground library's windowless compactus. Also, for finally drinking wine, even if it sometimes smells of feet.

INTRODUCTION

Problem Statement: We need some light

"I thought of my friends who had died of exposure

And I remembered other ones

*Who had died from the lack of it"*⁴

Despite being the subject of sundry literary and historical publications, much of the history of South African wines has not yet been exposed. Particularly surprising is the lack of research regarding the effects of the Second World War (1939-1945) on the production, marketing, export and domestic consumption of South African wines and brandies.⁵ The same has been true for other well-researched *New World*⁶ producers such as Argentina, Chile, Australia, New Zealand and even China.

Only the United States of America, currently the biggest producer deemed as part of the New World, has seen a considerable number of researchers dealing with its wine industry during the Second World War.⁷ Even the great wine magnate, Robert Mondavi, managed to have work on this era published.⁸ The effects of the War are

⁴ Nick Cave, "Darker with the day," in *The Complete Lyrics: 1978-2013* (London: Penguin, 2007), 336.

⁵ The effect of the war on food control in South Africa during the war, however, has been well examined in Yolandi Albertyn, "Upsetting the applecart: Government and Food Control in the Union of South Africa during World War II c. 1939-1948," MA diss., University of Stellenbosch, 2014. With regard to marketing of products in general, much insight is given in Fankie L. Monama, "Wartime propaganda in the Union of South Africa, 1939 – 1945," PhD diss., University of Stellenbosch, 2014.

⁶ 'New World' as a term is often used with varying definitions; its plurality makes it difficult to explore in an academic context. More recently, it has commonly referred to Argentina, Australia, Canada, Chile, New Zealand, Peru, South Africa, and the United States (with California referred to as a wine producer in its own right). Some important works that have included some or all of the above as New World Wines are: Kym Anderson, "Wine's New World," *Foreign Policy*, no. 136 (2003): 47-54; Alan Duncan and Greenaway David, "The Economics of Wine: Introduction," *The Economic Journal* 118, no. 529 (2008): 137-141.

⁷ In fact, the Second World War is often used too easily as a primary or umbrella cause of many events in the Californian wine industry. This means that a great deal of research – on topics such as the *Wine Drive* of the late 1930s – has been deemed unimportant. Some notable works on the Californian wine industry are: Jonathan P. Swinchatt and D. G. Howell, *The winemaker's dance exploring terroir in the Napa Valley* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 1-240; Julius L. Jacobs, "California's Pioneer Wine Families," *California Historical Quarterly* 54, no. (1975): 139–74.

⁸ Robert Mondavi, "Wine and History," *The Public Historian* 16, no. 4 (1994): 67-69.

often over-simplified. A more nuanced overall perspective is needed and it is my hope that this dissertation can contribute to that.⁹

Concerning the Old World,¹⁰ the wine tradition in France has been the most studied, and along with the U.S.A., stands above the rest in terms of research regarding the Second World War's effect on a particular wine industry.¹¹

Moving away from specifics, historiography of the global wine industry has lacked insight into or even mention of the effects of the Second World War in general. In Kym Anderson's *The world's wine markets: globalization at work*, for instance, the Second World War is disregarded entirely in a brief global wine history set out at the start.¹² Marc Millon's *Wine: A Global History* cites the Second World War as a passing American mention, that an "even greater setback was the introduction of Prohibition, which was in force from 1920 to 1933. With the Second World War following soon after, it was decades before the Californian wine industry recovered."¹³ Similarly, in Tim Unwin's *Wine and the Vine: An Historical Geography of Viticulture and the Wine Trade*, the Second World War is only very briefly mentioned as a timeline division, and cannot be found in the publication's otherwise rather extensive index. In *Wine wars: the curse of the blue nun, the miracle of two buck chuck, and the revenge of the terrorists*, the Second World War is acknowledged, but its effect on aspects such as trade and production is not sufficiently researched.¹⁴

⁹ Some of the most comprehensive accounts of the Californian wine industry during the Second World War are: Thomas Pinney, "Wine in the War Years," in *A History of Wine in America: From Prohibition to the Present, Volume 2*, by Thomas Pinney (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 188-139; Richard Mendelson and Mondavi Margrit Biever, "Transforming Wine in American Culture," In *From Demon to Darling: A Legal History of Wine in America*, University of California Press, 2009), 137-86; James T. Lapsley, *Bottled Poetry: Napa Winemaking from Prohibition to the Modern Era* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 1-196.

¹⁰ The *Old World* includes areas where wine was produced before the *New World* was discovered. It often also refers to Mediterranean Europe, which is described as "the heartland of viticulture" in Georgina Matthews, Ella Milroy, Kelly Thompson, Debbie Woska and Caroline Blake, eds., *Wines of the World* (London: Dorling Kindersley, 2009), 11.

¹¹ Some important examples are: Leo A. Loubère, *The wine revolution in France: the twentieth century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 1-304; Harry W. Paul, *Science, vine, and wine in modern France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 1-368.

¹² Kym Anderson, *The world's wine markets: globalization at work* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2004), 15-20.

¹³ Marc Millon, *Wine: A Global History* (London: Reaktion Books, 2013), 94.

¹⁴ Michael Veseth, *Wine wars: the curse of the blue nun, the miracle of two buck chuck, and the revenge of the terroirists* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2011), 82.

Why has historiography neglected this period in most wine industries? One argument is that the Second World War did, in fact, not profoundly affect wine production or trade in the world that followed. The rise of *New World* producers in the later 20th Century¹⁵ could in part be explained by the loss of Algeria as a major producer of wines or the general increase of world trade after 1945.¹⁶ The Second World War cannot, without sufficient research, simply be deemed as the primary catalyst in these two developments, at least not to a greater extent than, for instance, the First World War or the Industrial Revolution.

A second argument as to why historiography has neglected the effect of the Second World War on wine (especially in South Africa) is that the subject matter is simply too trivial when compared to the disasters of battle. Can one objectively write about the production, marketing and consumption of luxuries during one of the most horrific series of events to occur in modern history? While talking to Johan du Toit, a self-proclaimed (yet rightfully so) sage of both South African wines and the Second World War (having been a History teacher before becoming a wine producer), I was told that this study could not be finished before consulting the work of Kurt Vonnegut. As I presented some of my findings he maintained that, “before writing about war, one needs to understand it, or understand what someone else understood of it.”¹⁷ I was given Vonnegut’s absurd but brilliant first-hand account of the experiences of an American in the 1945 bombing of Dresden in the form of *Slaughterhouse Five*.¹⁸ A revelation, however, only came with the reading of *A Man without a Country*. Vonnegut writes that, “of course, another reason not to talk about the war is that it’s unspeakable.”¹⁹

The initial writing of this thesis thus came from two points of departure. Firstly, in accepting that most subjects could be viewed as trivial when compared to the death and destruction of war, research regarding wine industries might be to try to make

¹⁵ Alan Duncan and Greenaway David, “The Economics of Wine: Introduction,” *The Economic Journal* 118, no. 529 (2008): 137.

¹⁶ Min Zhou, “Multidimensionality and Gravity in Global Trade, 1950-2000,” *Social Forces* 88, no. 4 (2010): 1619.

¹⁷ Johan du Toit, interview with author, February 12, 2015.

¹⁸ Kurt Vonnegut, *Slaughterhouse-Five, or The Children's Crusade: A Duty-Dance with Death* (New York: Delacorte, 1969), 1-132.

¹⁹ Kurt Vonnegut, *A man without a country* (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2005), 20.

sense of the senseless. Secondly, the writing of this thesis rested on the hypothesis that the Second World War could indeed have been a central event in the broader South African wine industry, and that some fundamental changes did occur in this period. Whether or not the war directly instigated these changes remained a question which this thesis sought to answer.

Limited or limitless: Using California of the U.S.A. to better understand South Africa

Peter F. May described a conversation he had with Stellenbosch Neethlinghof Estate's De Wet Viljoen in which he asked why Californian Pinotage²⁰ did not taste of "nail-varnish," whereas some brands of South African Pinotage, despite being of South African invention and tradition, were guilty of such taste allegations (one hears of this far less, if ever, in 2016). To this Viljoen replied: "They handled Pinotage very carefully, like they would Pinot Noir. And their cellars are clean."²¹

The primary preoccupation of this thesis, as mentioned in the preface, has been a deeper understanding of the South African wine industry during the Second World War. This includes its export capabilities,²² its growth and South African wine's apparent inability to appeal to a wider South Africa.

During the Second World War, domestic consumption of brandy increased in South Africa.²³ It is important to ask, however, how this consumption increase compares with the dramatic boom in wine consumption in the United States at the time, which paved the way to the United States of America becoming the greatest wine

²⁰ For some it comes as a surprise that Pinotage is also produced in California. It has naturally not been at the same extent as in South Africa. The pop-status of the still reasonably fashionable coffee-Pinotage in markets such as Canada could, if growth continues, see increased production of it outside South Africa.

²¹ Peter F. May, *Pinotage: behind the legends of South Africa's own wine* (St. Albans: Inform & Enlighten. 2009), 158.

²² With regard to South African exports in general the following works are of note: Kristoffel Castelein, *Export of South African wine and import in Europe*, M. Comm., University of Stellenbosch, 1997; Kym Anderson, "Wine's New World," *Foreign Policy*, no. 136 (2003): 47–54.

One notable work regarding wine trading alliances, albeit outside South Africa or California, and outside this study's time frame, is: John V.C. Nye, *War, Wine and Taxes – the political economy of Anglo-French trade, 1689-1900* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 2-272.

²³ C.W.H. Kohler, "Chairman's speech," transcribed in *Wine and Spirit* XIV, no. 166 (July 1945): 6298.

market on the globe.²⁴ California as a New World producer had, in the late 1930s, created a *new world* of consumers within its adjacent states.

An ideal study into *New World Wines* during and after the Second World War would encompass all the producers across the globe that were and are deemed to be part of the 'New World of wines.'²⁵ The demarcation of such a thesis would be challenging, and within the limits of this dissertation it is not possible to cover all of these countries or regions adequately.²⁶ The Union of South Africa therefore serves as a control group, contextualised by the American (especially Californian) wine industry. This thesis will show that these producers were in many instances dealt a similar hand but reached the end of the Second World War in radically different positions.²⁷ The wine industries of South Africa and the United States were siblings in the same partially-partitioned room. Where one reacted to global conflict by slamming the door and playing *Agricola* in solitude, the other reopened the door for some air and did her science homework. It is hoped that some previously curtained space between the two producers will be opened for workable analytical models regarding the impact of the Second World War on New World Wines.

Forming part of the broader parameters of this study, one important link between these producers is the fact that the majority of them were part of, or at least sympathetic towards, the Allied cause in the Second World War.

The War of Gaps

When it comes to trade, the Second World War can often be characterised as the war of gaps. Where a phenomenon is not easily explained, historiography habitually reverts to using the war as a primary cause, not taking into account the complicated nature of global trade at the time. Where there is a gap in the chain of causality or in a

²⁴ This is not based on per capita consumption, but rather on overall sales of wine. Recently this claim has been made in: "US overtakes France as world's biggest wine market," BBC News, accessed February 17, 2015, <http://www.bbc.com/news/business-27401458>.

²⁵ One source that gives a great deal of insight into how historians commonly view New World Wines is: Victor W. Geraci, "*Gift of the Gods: The Art of Wine from the Ancient World to Canadian Vineyards*," *The Public Historian* 27, no.3 (2005): 96–99.

²⁶ Not all relatively new wine producers are seen as 'New World' producers. While at first glance denoting a *new* way of wine production – opposing the 'Old World' and its exclusive dominance in the market place – has done much to exclude wine-producing countries on shelves internationally.

²⁷ The two linked especially in terms of centralisation, domestic consumption and the opening of markets as a result of the war.

timeline, the war is often inserted with a qualified dash: “1939 – 1945.” As this thesis aims neither to fall into that gap nor use the dash as a springboard, literature has had to be reviewed broadly.

Wine histories of South Africa generally encompass a period broader than a single decade. There are, however, chapters devoted to the relevant dates of this thesis.²⁸

To assess how the War directly affected the South African wine industry, literature published within the first two decades after 1945 was of paramount importance, as it included not only significant data but also the relevant sentiment towards the contemporary global wine trade.²⁹

There have been no historical publications devoted solely to the wines of the Western Cape or broader South African in relation to the War. Segments or chapters on the subject have, however, been published, but offer only very limited accounts. This is highlighted in the following quote, where much is left unanswered: “Demand for

²⁸ With regard to the physical nature of South African wine trade in the 1930s, the following titles have included valuable research: David Hughes, Phyllis Hands, John Kench, and John Kench, *South African wine* (Cape Town: Struik, 1992), 2-288; Wendy Toerien, *South African wine: a celebration* (Cape Town: Struik, 1992), 1-176; Fanie De Jongh, *Encyclopaedia of South African wine* (Düsseldorf: McGraw-Hill, 1976), 1-130; John Kench, Phyllis Hands, and David Hughes, *The complete book of South African wine* (Cape Town: Struik Publishers, 1983), 1-351; Michael Fridjhon, *The Penguin book of South African wine* (London: Penguin Books, 1992), 1-288; Eric H. Bolsmann, *The South African wine dictionary: with a supplement on estates, farms, and producers* (Cape Town: Balkema, 1977), 1-154; Phyllis Hands, David Hughes, and Keith Phillips, *New world of wine from the Cape of Good Hope: the definitive guide to the South African wine industry* (Somerset West: Stephan Phillips, 2001), 1-175; David Hughes, *South African dictionary of wine* (Kenilworth: Ampersand Press, 2004), 1-299; *South African wines of origin* (Paarl: K.W.V. Market Development Dept, 1973), 1-32; Elmari Swart and Izak Smit, *The essential guide to South African wines* (Green Point, South Africa: Cheviot Publishers, 2009), 2-224; Jeremy Browne, *Franschhoek: gem of the South African winelands* (South Africa: The author, 2007), 1-188; Eric H. Bolsmann, *Bertrams guide to South African wines of origin* (Cape Town: Bertrams Wines, 1976) 2-81; Di Burger, and Jeremy Browne, *Paarl and Wellington: gateway to the South African winelands* (Cape Town: 2b Publications, 2010), 1-215; Gordon Bagnall, *Wine in South Africa* (Johannesburg: SABC, 1971), 1-22; Tim James, *Wines of the new South Africa: tradition and revolution* (Berkley: University of California Press, 2013), 1-324.

²⁹ The following sources produced by the K.W.V. throughout the 1930s, and consist of more contemporary notions of the time: Ko-operatiewe Wynbouwers Vereniging van Zuid-Afrika, *The story of South African wines and the Wine Growers' Association* (Paarl: The Association, 1936), 1-31; Ko-operatiewe Wijnbouwers Vereniging van Zuid-Afrika, *The South African wine industry: its growth and development* (Paarl: K.W.V., 1950), 1-30.

brandy during the (sic) World War 11 solved the immediate problem of surplus disposal.”³⁰

Literature regarding Prohibition in the U.S.A

On the other hand, even in terms of the pre-war era, America has been better served. The effect of the American Prohibition (of the 1920s and early 1930s) on the Californian wine industry has been the subject of numerous titles.³¹ Within the confines of this particular MA dissertation and its post-prohibition focus, a literature review with regard to prohibition could be conducted widely (particularly from 1930-1933) but, clearly, by no means exhaustively.³²

The American prohibition matters because it had global repercussions.³³ As far as South Africa went, the K.W.V. had to alter its export scheme to accommodate the loss of the American market. The same was true of *Old World* producing countries such as France, Italy and Spain, for which a market that had a lot of potential, disappeared. A future study could look into exactly how the American Prohibition specifically changed the global wine landscape, and to what extent international trade was shaken up in the period 1933-1939 (after the American prohibition, and before the Second World War).

³⁰ N.A.M.C., “Report on the investigation into the effects of deregulation on the South African wine industry,” by Anzil Adams et al., 2002. 6, accessed July 4, 2016, http://www.namc.co.za/upload/per_category/ImpactReport_Deregulation_WineIndustry_Dec2002.pdf.

³¹ One article that stands out is Kenneth D. Rose, “Dry Los Angeles and Its Liquor Problems in 1924,” *Southern California Quarterly* 69, no. 1 (1987): 51-74.

³² Some publications from the prohibition period that helped paint the background to this study are: Irving Fisher, *Prohibition at its worst* (New York: The Macmillan company, 1926), 1-255; Herman Feldman, *Prohibition; its economic and industrial aspects* (New York: D. Appleton, 1927), 1- 415; Victor G Vecki, *Alcohol and prohibition in their relation to civilization and the art of living* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1923), 1-165; Charles Towne Hanson, *The rise and fall of prohibition; the human side of what the Eighteenth amendment and the Volstead act have done to the United States* (New York: Macmillan, 1923), 1-220. Some more contemporary studies include: Doris Muscatine, Maynard A. Amerine, and Bob Thompson, *The University of California/Sotheby book of California wine* (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984), 2-615; John R. Meers, “The California Wine and Grape Industry and Prohibition,” *California Historical Society Quarterly* 46, no. 1 (1967): 19–32.

³³ On repercussions outside California, there are some essential histories and informative articles: Edward Behr, *Prohibition: thirteen years that changed America* (New York: Arcade Publishers, 1996), 1- 262; Kenneth Allsop, *The bootleggers: the story of Chicago's prohibition era* (London: Hutchinson, 1961), 9-379; Donald F. Vitaliano, “Repeal of Prohibition: a benefit-cost analysis,” *Contemporary Economic Policy* 33, no. 1 (2015): 44-55; M.F.K. Fisher and Max Yavno, *The story of wine in California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), 1-125; Earl Roberge, *Napa Wine Country* (Portland: C.H. Belding, 1975), 1-207; George Gale, *Dying on the vine: how phylloxera transformed wine* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 1-323.

As mentioned, this study has drawn on notable histories of the period 1920-1930, and has conducted primary research from 1930 to 1955.

Literature regarding South African Prohibition

Jonathan Hyslop writes of the “scores” of British and Irish nationals who were deported from the Union of South Africa for supplying liquor to black or coloured South Africans.³⁴ Many of these deportations took place in the 1920s and 1930s. One of the most impressive works on the prohibition of alcohol in Southern Africa is *Liquor and Labor in Southern Africa*, edited by Jonathan Crush and Charles H. Ambler.³⁵ It features a series of essays, ranging from the formation of beer halls to the *invention* of a beer culture in the Transkei. The collection offers limited but valuable insight into the state of local prohibition during the Second World War.

The Californian Wine drive during the Second World War

Amongst other examples of centralisation or consolidation, the Californian wine drive of the late 1930s and early 1940s will play a central role in this study. It is, however, almost unmentioned in historiography. In James T. Lapsley’s impressive account of the Californian wine industry, *Bottled Poetry: Napa Winemaking from Prohibition to the Modern Era*, is an exception to this. The book features examples of advertisements done in co-operation with the *wine drive* – they are, however, merely shown as seemingly disjointed display efforts by associations such as the Napa Valley Vintner’s Association.

From the outset of this research, the number of advertisements (especially billboards) of Californian wine that coincided with the start of the war seemed too much of an administratively intensive effort *not* to be a drive.

Research with regard to the wine drive and its scope is of great importance, as historiography on wine consumption in America between 1939 and 1945 is dominated by ambiguous theories. For instance, it has been claimed that the spike in consumption was a result of a “managed wartime economy that took whiskey off the

³⁴ Jonathan Hyslop, “Undesirable Inhabitant of the Union... Supplying Liquor to Natives: D. F. Malan and the Deportation of South Africa's British and Irish Lumpen Proletarians 1924–1933,” *Kronos*, no. 40 (2014): 80.

³⁵ Jonathan Crush, and Charles H. Ambler, *Liquor and labor in Southern Africa* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1992), 1-432.

shelves and put money in consumer's pockets."³⁶ This theory does not explain why *wine* would take centre stage before other forms of alcohol. Other historians have also theorised that wine in the late 1930s and 1940s was already marketed as a more premium alcohol and that an increase in income would result in increased wine consumption. Here, global trends in consumption of alcoholic beverages and the slow decline of homemade wines are not always taken into account.

As far as is possible, this dissertation will endeavour to take all of the above into account, and introduce the *wine drive* along with a theory as to what effect it had on wine consumption as well as wine culture in the United States.

Methodology

Much of the content of this thesis is based on sources found in the vintage compactus of the library of the University of Stellenbosch. I was very kindly guided to series of magazines and newspaper articles from the early 20th Century. Arguably, the most important collection was the monthly publication, *Wine and Spirit*, which acted as an official organ of the K.W.V. during the war years. The compactus seems to be much like J.K. Rowling's "room of requirement," to anyone seeking written sources published during the war. These offer insights into the way in which the war's effect on the South African wine industry was perceived by its contemporaries. Even though these accounts are by no means objective, they remain uncontaminated by re-telling and collective memory.

Despite it not being noted in any literature that I have come across, *Wine and Spirit* had a sister publication in California, called *Wines and Vines*. These two publications often shared themes, thoughts and sometimes even articles during the war. Volumes of the *Wines and Vines* are also housed in the library of Stellenbosch University.

Sources found in the National Archives in Cape Town, the archives of the K.W.V. as well as memorabilia from the period (old bottles, labels, posters and advertisements) have naturally contributed to the constructing of a historical narrative.

³⁶ James T. Lapsley, *Bottled Poetry: Napa Winemaking from Prohibition to the Modern Era* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 98.

Interviews were also of importance in contextualising facts and figures found in some of the above mentioned sources. The wine industry in South Africa has a rich oral history.

Other sources that were useful include speeches, meeting minutes, letters, advertisements and physical wine and brandy bottles.

The literature review has shown that, although there are many secondary sources concerned with wines in South Africa as well as the United States of America, not enough exists with regard to the effect of the Second World War in either. To my knowledge, no literature has compared the wine industries of South Africa and the U.S.A. in their relation to the Second World War. The data collected in primary sources were thus embedded in the trove of secondary sources devoted to these two industries in general. It is my hope that, along with the incredible works that have been published in wine historiography, this one will be deemed as a valuable contribution.

CHAPTER 1: Factors in Wine's entry to the War

1 1 Introduction

Chapter 1 examines different aspects of the South African and American wine industries as the two countries entered the Second World War respectively. Important factors leading up to and during the war include marketing schemes, funding, centralisation, product preference, production capabilities, distribution and domestic consumption, with the last mentioned element warranting a deeper study into forms of prohibition and temperance in both countries; and its effect on consumption and preference for wine-related products.

The effect of prohibiting specific forms of alcohol on specific groups in South Africa will be juxtaposed with the far-reaching prohibition of the United States of America. This chapter aims to assess how these policies affected producers as they adjusted to the effects of the Second World War, particularly before the United States declared war on Japan in December 1941.³⁷

Following this, forms of centralisation in both industries around key organisations will be assessed. This includes the formation of cooperatives before 1939 and, in the case of the United States of America especially, the efforts of various wine boards and emerging businesses.

The way in which wines were branded in South Africa and in the United States is of importance, particularly when considering how producers and salespersons viewed their target-markets. This chapter considers the way in which brandy was chosen to become the face of producers in South Africa during the war amidst over-production.

1 2 South African Prohibition: not black and white

"State alcohol monopolies were designed to ensure absolute racial segregation of drinking."³⁸

Wine has been in the veins of the Cape since the arrival of the Dutch. For many farm labourers who harvested and pressed it, and who were often partially paid in it –

³⁷ Brigadier Pieter Young, ed., *The World Almanac Book of World War II* (New York: World Almanac Publishers, 1981), 135.

³⁸ Crush and Ambler, *Liquor and labor in Southern Africa*, 25.

the right to consume alcohol was often endangered by temperance and prohibition movements.

Prohibition in South Africa was, throughout its history, also opposed by some policy-makers, occasionally even on similar religious grounds as those of their contemporaries who encouraged it. Jan van Riebeeck, for instance, recommended that slaves be given brandy rations daily “to animate their lessons and to make them really hear the Christian prayers.”³⁹

By the early 1920s, wine farmers in the Cape were expressing their unhappiness that the topic of prohibition for coloured people was still on the table.⁴⁰ From District Six, for instance, many Europeans also came staggering into polite conversation severely drunk. In matters of drunkenness, those opposed to prohibition would typically view class as an important factor as opposed to race alone. Two official Commissions (one in 1890 and one in 1918) substantiated this.

In 1890, the Parliamentary Liquor Laws Commission showed a great deal of disagreement over the notion of prohibition for non-Europeans in the Cape Colony. Four of the seven commissioners recommended that, regardless of the political privileges of class, the buying of alcohol be prohibited for “natives” in the Eastern Cape, whether they were enfranchised or not. The remaining three stood against this.⁴¹ Jan Hendrik Hofmeyr, of the Afrikaner Bond, was one of the three, and helped in the drafting of a minority report. While he had a liberal reputation of being one of the ‘friends of the natives’, his opposition to prohibition in general might have been buoyed more by the fact that he was a founding member of one of the early wine co-operatives of the Cape, established two decades earlier.

Outside the Cape, legislation prohibiting alcohol to non-Europeans could be passed earlier. Clause 25 of the Orange Free State’s Ordinance (No. 10 of 1856) was a prominent example of discrimination between races in the sale of alcohol. C. Louis Leipoldt noted that this “introduced for the first time in South African legislation a

³⁹ Crush and Ambler, *Liquor and labor in Southern Africa*, 12.

⁴⁰ Jeremy Creighton Martens, “Conflicting Views of ‘Coloured’ People in the South African Liquor Bill Debate of 1928,” *Canadian Journal of African Studies / Revue Canadienne Des Études Africaines* 35, no. 2 (2001): 313-38.

⁴¹ Martens, “Conflicting Views of ‘Coloured’ People in the South African Liquor Bill Debate of 1928,” 318.

definite colour bar in wine drinking.”⁴² This Act also defined drunkenness as a crime.⁴³ Based on the fact that a range of countries had passed legislation to prohibit the sale of alcohol in some way by the early 20th century (the Russian Empire and later Soviet Union; Iceland, Finland, Canada, to a certain extent South Africa – all before 1930) one can conclude that by the beginning of the 20th Century, a belief in prohibition was gaining popularity with political policy makers globally.

Meanwhile, in the Union of South Africa in particular, with regard to temperance for coloured South Africans, there was more visible contention. As Martens has suggested, “white concerns about alcohol abuse were beginning to be projected onto coloured people.”⁴⁴ In 1918, a parliamentary committee inspected the misuse of liquors in the Cape. Along with coloured drunkenness presented in their report to be a major problem, the committee’s perceptions were also shaped by class, observing that skilled or educated coloured men did not ‘sway far’ from European men of the same stature.⁴⁵

Contending views continued to be prevalent. In the 1928 parliamentary debate on the Liquor Bill, Leslie Blackwell argued that coloured people were, in fact, more susceptible to being drunk than Europeans. As a *race*, they were afflicted by this handicap or incapacity. It was owed to, as Tielman Roos put it in the same debate, their “standard of development.”⁴⁶

Such sentiments seemed not to outweigh the position of some of the MPs with interests in the liquor industry (particularly the wine industry), nor their need to retain a standing connection with regard to the submissive rural workforce and political faction they had in rural labouring coloured people. An overriding argument used in parliament against prohibition was that it would create greater disorder.⁴⁷ Still, the bill that was passed (Act No. 20 of 1928) reflected something of the view that Non-Europeans were

⁴² C. Louis Leipold, *300 years of Cape Wine* (Cape Town: Tafelberg, 1974), 166.

⁴³ Leipold, *300 years of Cape Wine*, 166.

⁴⁴ Martens, “Conflicting Views of ‘Coloured’ People in the South African Liquor Bill Debate of 1928,” 320.

⁴⁵ In other words, an educated or skilled coloured man was described to be as capable of not being drunk in public as an educated or skilled white man.

⁴⁶ Martens, “Conflicting Views of ‘Coloured’ People in the South African Liquor Bill Debate of 1928,” 323.

⁴⁷ Crush and Ambler, *Liquor and labor in Southern Africa*, 12.

not fit to consume alcohol without supervision and control.⁴⁸ Under the heading, *Supply to Natives, Asiatics and Coloured Persons*, the first point of discussion was “Native Prohibition.”⁴⁹ It prescribed the following in section 96: “Save as provided in sub-sections (2) and (3)... no person shall supply any liquor or kaffir beer to any native, Asiatic or coloured person in his employment.”⁵⁰ Sub-section (2) stated that the employee, if in bona fide employment in the Cape of Good Hope, had to be male and over the age of 21 to consume alcohol (unfortified wine or *Kaffir* beer). It had to be consumed in intervals of “not less than two hours and in not less than three equal portions.”⁵¹

The entire population of South Africa after the 1936 census was counted as having been 9, 589, 898 people, of which 219, 691 were Asiatic, 769, 661 were coloured, 2, 003, 857 were European and 6, 596, 689 were described as native. Leaving aside the oddity of the census total, which left 72 people unaccounted for,⁵² the implications of the population balance for the wine market were anything but favourable.

What may have seemed then, as a victory for those in the wine industry who opposed prohibition for coloured people on their farms, was in fact set to be a well-masked loss. Non-European South Africans generally faced regulations in alcohol consumption that would render any chance of cultivating a future wine drinking culture for the majority of South Africa’s inhabitants improbable.

South African wines thus entered the Second World War with the biggest part of the domestic market not interested in wine.

⁴⁸ “Supply to Natives, Asiatics and Cloured Persons,” Act No. 30 of 1928 (94) (c), *Statutes of the Union of South Africa, III, 1927-1928*, (Cape Town: Government Printer, 1928), 540.

⁴⁹ “Supply to Natives, Asiatics and Cloured Persons,” Act No. 30 of 1928 (94) (c) 540.

⁵⁰ “Supply to Natives, Asiatics and Cloured Persons,” Act No. 30 of 1928 (94) (c) 542.

⁵¹ “Supply to Natives, Asiatics and Cloured Persons,” Act No. 30 of 1928 (94) (c) 542.

⁵² Union Office of Census and Statistics, *Official Year Book of the Union no. 22* (Pretoria: Government Press, 1941), 984.

1 3 American Prohibition

The Californian wine industry (in the U.S.A.) was by the 1920s effectively submerged by legislation that prohibited the sale of alcohol. The Volstead Act was passed in October 1919 over the faint veto of President Wilson.⁵³

In California, it could not be expected of farmers to uproot their vineyards, as it would amount to inordinate costs. Fortunately, grapes could be used for products other than wine, with raisins being the primary solution. Historiography often remembers this period in California as an indeterminate stage, yet overlooking the fact that between 1920 and 1923, in the midst of well-publicised arrangements towards better-enforced prohibition, 300 000 acres of grapes were nonetheless planted in the Central valley. This was twice the amount of the pre-prohibition acreage.⁵⁴

A decade later, the cost of enforcing the Prohibition Act spiralled to 300 million Dollars.⁵⁵ Bootleggers and speakeasies took the place of long and expensively built-up cellars and hostelryes. The production of home-made wine continued during prohibition, and a legacy of this practice remained in the decade that followed. A lapse in regulation in the making of these beverages, not much unlike other home-made liquors, could amount to higher percentages of alcohol. An American wine-journalist in 1941 conceivably exaggerated when he noted that 20-30 million gallons of home-made wine was manufactured each year, which he showed to be equal to the average dry wine production of California.⁵⁶

One year after Repeal in 1933, the total production of grapes in California reached 476 000 tons. At \$14.75 a unit, this amounted to a value of \$ 7021 000. By 1937, this had grown to 631 000 tons at \$21.00 a unit, resulting in a handsome worth of \$13,251 000.

⁵³ Thomas Pinney, *A History of Wine in America, Volume 2: From Prohibition to the Present* (Berkley: California University Press, 2005), 1. Wilson suffered a stroke earlier that month, leaving some parts of his body paralyzed, his sight severely impaired and public trust in his capabilities diminished. He had in his time in office been well informed of the state of farmers in the U.S.A., having signed the Federal Farm Loan Act in 1916.

⁵⁴ James T. Lapsley, *Bottled Poetry*, 99.

⁵⁵ Martinus Versfeld, Merwe Scholtz, I.L. de Villiers, *Wine and wisdom* (Cape Town, Tafelberg, 1978), 42.

⁵⁶ Alfred Hiller, "Consumption trend and Defense Program," *Wines and Vines* 22, no. 2 (February 1941): 12.

Yet, this prosperity declined before the Second World War. In 1938, the total production was 589 000 tons (at \$12.75 a unit, resulting in \$7,510 000).⁵⁷ Because of overproduction, the prices of vine products were falling. California was producing too much wine and selling too little of it.

1 4 Centralisation in South Africa

In the case of interwar South Africa, an effort to make wines and brandies more readily available domestically is visible in the pages of the *Wine and Spirit*, but The Board of Directors of the K.W.V. increasingly believed it to be more important to export. In 1939 *Good Wine* was not yet placed under their control.

As the American wine production almost virtually disappeared in the 1920s, there was a greater need for South African bulk wine in wine markets such as Britain, the Netherlands and even France. In the Western Cape, it was especially wine for distilling that was endorsed by the K.W.V., which could be exported as a finished product and which fell under its jurisdiction.

In this way, South Africa's wine industry entered an era of massive growth – both in vineyard coverage and in production. The K.W.V.'s legislative support, found in 1924, strengthened in the 15 years leading into 1939, and ensured South African wine producers of expanded wine sales, prompting arguably risky enterprises in the Cape winelands. On a tour through Stellenbosch and Paarl, one may even see proof of this, only culminating in the wartime era. Up and until the Second World War, there was an era of optimism, brought on by quantitative research done by the K.W.V., and its subsequent projections. A total of 12 500 hectares of vineyards in 1900 had become 95 000 in 1937.⁵⁸

Another important agent in the industry was the Stellenbosch Farmers' Winery (SFW), founded by an American, George Winshaw, in 1935. SFW advertised widely in the K.W.V.'s official organ, *Wine and Spirit*, during the war years. This suggests that the bad blood⁵⁹ between Winshaw and officials of the K.W.V. had been set aside by

⁵⁷ Deducted from a table of information supplied in: H.F. Stoll, ed., *Wines and Vines* 20, no. 1 (January 1939): 2.

⁵⁸ Leon Douarche, "The World Viticulture Crisis," trans., H.F. Stoll, *Wines and Vines* 20, no. 4 (April 1939): 6.

⁵⁹ Before Winshaw was first liquidated in the 1920s, officials of the K.W.V. were very reportedly vocal in warning producers not to work with him.

1939. The SFW acted as a producer-wholesaler, and wasted no time in acquiring assets since its formation. In 1939, it took control of the Cape Town-based liquor group, James Sedgwick & Company.⁶⁰

In the decade leading up to the war, the bulk of South African wines were exported to England. By 1939, the K.W.V. was still actively promoting the production of cheaper or distilled wines in the Cape. Two reasons were central. Firstly, as mentioned, the K.W.V. had not yet been given control over *Good Wine*. Secondly, lower-priced wine was seen to be an easier product to sell in Britain amidst historically successful Old-World producers. This gave sufficient reason to the K.W.V. to settle on a lower priced podium.

Possibly drawing from dialogue heard from more *political* podiums at the time, the language used in *Wine and Spirit* became distinctly more emotive in 1939, adding weight to unprecedentedly long editorials. One such editorial was written by Chas, W.H. Kohler in the beginning of 1939. It is interesting to note how a lengthy history of the wine industry was emphasised, possibly as a means of harnessing the loyalty of traditionalists. The following is translated from Afrikaans:

“After our twenty-one years’ journey of working and struggling together toward prosperity for those who have interest in the wine industry of our country and have been part of it for almost centuries, we have now reached a stage in which the future of our industry depends on our ambition and drive in retaining and strengthening the spirit of cooperation in every member of our organisation if we are to achieve victory over that which lies before us.”⁶¹

The focus on bulk wines and wines for distilling as opposed to higher-priced bottled wines in the South African export arena was an emotional affair for individuals such as C.W.H. Kohler. When the war provided a tempting new outlet for South African brandy, the K.W.V. adjusted to this quickly. At the same time, in the Afrikaans section of a K.W.V. publication, *Wine and Spirit*, higher quality bottled wines (as opposed to bulk wine) were discussed under the heading “*Vermaaklikheid of Verneukery?*” (“Amusement or Deceit?”). The article spoke of greedy merchants who

⁶⁰ Craig Fraser, Wendy Toerien, Karen Vermeulen, *Fire Water: South African Brandy* (Cape Town: Quivertree Publications, 2008), 39.

⁶¹ C.W.H. Kohler, “n Nuwe Jaar Boodskap aan die Wynboere van Suid-Afrika,” *Wine and Spirit* VIII, no. 8 (January 1939): 4025.

sought to sell bottled wine at higher price points, with the promise of higher profits for the producer.⁶²

The terms “*goeiewyn*” (“good wine”)⁶³ and *wine merchant* were used with confrontational connotations. By 1939, the K.W.V. had, at least by its own standards, managed to successfully shift the majority of the South African wine industry to producing bulk wines and wines for distilling – with a common view prevailing in publications that wine otherwise sold was wine in jeopardy. Exports in bulk wine grew from 26104 gallons in 1926 to 2.2 million gallons on the eve of the war.⁶⁴ The Merchant or *Negotiant* that wished to trade with producers outside the agreement that had led to this K.W.V. achievement, was portrayed as corrupt and dangerous.⁶⁵ In the January publication of 1939, for instance, it was declared that the prices which common merchants promised could not be sustainable, nor even possible for that matter, as the K.W.V. had done ample research into the state of the market, proving its unforgiving nature towards small producers. These merchants, according to the *Wine and Spirit*, were in all probability lying or ignorant as to what they could achieve in the free market. The reader was thus warned not to do business with such people.

The article went on to advise, “farmers who sell their grapes for distilling will enjoy the protection of the K.W.V., but (the following was printed in italics) *farmers who sell their wine as good wine and not at an agreed and confirmed price walk in confusion and without protection into the lion’s den and go down to the amusement of the wine merchant.*”⁶⁶

The writer reluctantly referred to authority:

“Clause 12 of the Wine and Spirits Control Act, which he (the wine merchant) has come to view as his Magna Charta against the K.W.V. and the pool of wine for distilling, he can now truly regard as a shield. It is a shield for those who are out to

⁶² “Vermaaklikheid of Verneukery?” *Wine and Spirit* VIII, no. 88 (January 1939): 4027.

⁶³ This was wine not intended for distillation. It was also referred to as “Goeie wyn”, “Goeiewyn”, or “Good Wine”.

⁶⁴ Nick Vink, Gavin Williams, Johann Kirsten, “South Africa,” in *The world's wine markets: globalization at work*, ed. Kym Anderson (Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishers 2004), 232.

⁶⁵ “Vermaaklikheid of Verneukery?” 4027.

⁶⁶ “Vermaaklikheid of Verneukery?” 4029. This segment was translated from: “Boere wat hul druiwe vir stookwyn doeleindes verkoop val onder die beskerming van die K.W.V., maar [the author had put the following part in italics] boere wat hul druiwe vir goeiewyn-doeleindes en nie teen ’n vasgestelde prys verkoop nie, stap in hul verwarring sonder enige beskerming in die leeu se kuil en gaan teen gronde vir die vermaaklikheid van die wynkoper.”

deliberately cheat the producer of good wine, not only in prices, but also in his career – the career his ancestors were so proud of, and for which such high goals were set, which they had spent years fighting to reach...and now Clause 12 of the Wine and Spirits Control Act prohibits the K.W.V to do anything to help him. Indeed, the poor producer of good wines has truly cheated himself. Protection against the K.W.V., which he bragged about, is now the amusement of the wine merchant.”⁶⁷

In the context of an imminent global war this almost unprecedented passionate tone in *Wine and Spirit* might, in a sense, be seen as a foreshadowing of other conflicts to come.

1 5 Centralisation in the U.S.A (Californian Wine drive – what is it, and how can I protect my family?)

Much like the government-endorsed K.W.V. of South Africa, The Central Valley Association in 1939 linked up the Californian industry to find markets for the excess Californian wines.⁶⁸ Various industries of post-Depression America experienced centralisation; Roosevelt’s New Deal had pressed sectors such as that of wine and fruit into increased cooperation.⁶⁹ It was, however, equally not uncommon in prior years. In 1889, the National Biscuit Company, for instance, was already formed to help control the price and production of biscuits in the United States.⁷⁰

The Central Valley Association was funded by the Bank of America, which initially loaned \$10 million. The Bank of America also assigned one of its vice-presidents, Burke Crichfield, to manage the new Association.⁷¹ James T. Lapsley provides great insight into why exactly the Bank of America would have gone to such lengths, whatever its claimed motives of philanthropy.

Firstly, the high yields of the previous two years (in 1937, for instance the wine grape tonnage alone was 631 000 tonnes, compared to the 472 000 tonnes of the previous year),⁷² coupled with a surprisingly big harvest in 1939, had sent grape prices

⁶⁷ “Vermaaklikheid of Verneukery?” 4029.

⁶⁸ Lapsley, *Bottled Poetry*, 113.

⁶⁹ For more information on government intervention and the centralization of industries, read David Burg, *The Great Depression* (New York: Infobase Publishing, 2005), 108.

⁷⁰ Alfred D. Chandler, “The Beginnings of Big Business in American Industry,” *The Business History Review* 33, no. 1 (1959): 11-12.

⁷¹ Lapsley, *Bottled Poetry*, 113.

⁷² Derived from statistics compiled by the California Coöperative Crop Reporting Service, printed in: H. F. Stoll, ed., “The Grape Districts of California,” *Wines and Vines* 20, no. 1 (January 1939): 3.

diving, and not favourable for packing. With the three preceding decades taken into account, in which the Californian wine industry had to survive Prohibition, Depression, lack of transport and packaging shortages after a First World War, a total collapse seemed very probable. Furthermore, a relative need for wines after Prohibition saw the wine growers in the 1930s extend their vineyards, use more grapes for wine production⁷³ and mount one of their heaviest harvests of the decade in 1939 onto the back of an ill-fed camel. Production of wine was far higher than the need for it.

The Bank of America was the primary financier of many of the wineries in California.⁷⁴ Lapsley has noted three outcomes for the bank, namely closing down the loans of wineries that were not able to pay their debt; giving out new isolated loans; or connecting the separate producers and advancing the money to them as a new, united entity. The third merger option, according to Lapsley, seemed the most favourable.

The Californian wine industry then entered an era of consolidation. One imagines the words of Henry Ford resounding – “together is a beginning; keeping together is progress; working together is success” – whatever that means or meant.

The Wine Advisory Board, no doubt given new vigour after the capital injection of The Central Valley Association, launched a nationwide wine drive to promote domestic consumption of wine within the United States of America. This drive was planned to run for three years, starting in 1939. In anticipation of the world to come, this would prove to be an invaluable push. Agricultural drives were fairly common in America after the Depression. In Harper Lee’s *To Kill a Mockingbird*, for instance, set around 1936, Scout Finch is dressed up as a ham when she plays a part in a pageant promoting agricultural products in the fictional town of Maycomb County.⁷⁵ Also in the 1930s, Hollywood actresses paraded in costumes as Miss Carrot or Miss Runner Bean in promotional agricultural displays.

The context of the wine drive was also shaped in part by the presence of European wines, which in 1939 were still an important contender in the domestic wine

⁷³ In 1937, for instance, 246 900 tonnes of grapes were harvested for raisins, 419 000 for raisins marked fresh, 416 000 for table grapes, and 631 000 for wine. In 1938, raisins that were marked fresh dropped to 271 000 tonnes, while wine and table varieties stayed relatively stable: From statistics compiled by the California Coöperative Crop Reporting Service, *Wines and Vines* 20, no. 1 (January 1939): 3.

⁷⁴ Lapsley, *Bottled Poetry*, 113.

⁷⁵ Harper Lee, *To Kill a Mockingbird* (London: Penguin, 1963), 280-309.

drinking market. During the war, as will be shown, the supply of many of these wines was cut off, forcing wine-lovers to drink local wines. Perhaps marketing these wines vigorously already before the war gave American consumers the sense that they were indeed making the choice themselves.

The drive boasted an unparalleled financial input into the marketing of wines. A sum of \$2 million dollars was set aside for promotion. The launch of the Californian wine drive also travelled to the rest of the world with one of the last big shipments of non-war goods. In South Africa, where the K.W.V. and S.F.W. had spent the last five years failing to implement something of such scale, the news was met with a considerable amount of envy, especially in the light of fragile relations with export wine markets.

“The \$ 2,000,000 “Wine for America” Drive is in high gear, selling wine to America – California Wine – your wine. For the first time in history, you are promoting wine on a national basis. For the first time in history, you are united with all California wine growers in advertising California Wines to all America.”⁷⁶

\$2 million dollars would have to be stretched to successfully reach the corners of America. The end of Prohibition did not, contrary to intuition, make the United States thirsty for whisky, beer or wine. Those who were indeed thirsty were already drunk, and had been so throughout Prohibition⁷⁷ – anywhere the *moon shone*; or in the vicinity of some of the more resilient first-generation Italians who formed part of the influx of Europeans who emigrated to the U.S.A. at the start of the 20th Century, and who in many cases continued to produce informal wines.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ Herman L. Wente, “Your part in the Wine Selling Drive,” *Wine and Spirit* IX, no. 99 (December 1939): 4466.

⁷⁷ The early Twentieth Century’s Prohibition in the U.S.A. has mostly been documented as a failed federal attempt to rid the United States of intoxication in spite of public outcries. It is an unbalanced account, resulting in a fair amount of surprise for researchers dabbling in primary sources (especially opinion pieces) of the time. The idea that the Federal Government’s ban on alcohol was at all unpopular simply is not true. Global tendencies vary: in 1909, 1900 000 out of Sweden’s total population of 5,500 000 voted for prohibition. Only 17 000 people voted against it. Source: J. Söderquist, “The Bratt System: The Story of the Spirit Control System in Sweden,” *Die Wynboer* XV, no. 179 (August 1946): 5.

⁷⁸ Daniel A. Sumner, Helene Bombrum, Julian M. Alston and Dale Heien and Kym Anderson, *The world’s wine markets: globalization at work*, (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2004), 189.

By the start of the Second World War, a reported 15% of Americans were still regarded as ‘prohibitionists.’⁷⁹ And those who did openly support the selling and consumption of alcohol were, in the majority, not regular wine drinkers. As if making up for lost time, or to ease into the use of alcohol, many American consumers were pulled towards either harder liquors or relatively light-in-alcohol beers. Wine sat in the middle – lukewarm – at room temperature.

The Californian wine industry of the early 1940s was therefore faced with not only selling wine, but creating a wine drinking market focused on quality and reputability. This would need extensive marketing. In some articles during the late 1930s, the French were used as examples of how such propaganda could be utilised.

Very luckily at the foot of an international war, which would hinder trade routes and regulate production, the Californian wine industry set out to make the United States of America a sufficient offset region for its wines. Californian wines would grow autonomously from the rest of the world.

1 6 Branding the War in South Africa

In September 1939, the war in Europe was officially declared. In October, C.W.H. Kohler was quoted in an editorial for the *Wine and Spirit*, “No need to be Unduly Anxious”. The message included the fact that between 80 to 90 per cent of all South African export wines at the time was being shipped to England. The K.W.V. wanted to emphasise that, if anything, the trading of brandy would improve in such conditions. Kohler was quoted as saying that, normally, about six hogsheads of brandy were ordered from England per transaction. The latest order had been 250 hogsheads. It was also emphasised that it was well within the K.W.V.’s means to supply England, despite its massive orders. Importantly, Kohler made an accurate prediction in saying that consumption of South African brandies would increase because of the diminishing stocks of imported whisky.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ It might even have been more – Chaplan writes that, in 1933, 27% of Americans who voted wanted prohibition to continue. Source: C.L. Chaplan, “Prohibition,” *Wines and Vines* 25, no. 2 (February 1944): 23.

⁸⁰ C.W.H. Kohler, “No need to be Unduly Anxious,” *Wine and Spirit* IX, no. 97 (October 1939): 4367. The same was said for the consumption of other wines. Interestingly, the editor himself seemed nervous, as he made an error in the typing of the volume number (XI instead of IX).

Adding to the effort of spreading calmness instead of commotion was an article by Dr. Chas J. G. Niehaus in the same publication. Titled *Die Ontwikkeling in ons Wynboubedryf* ('the development of our wine industry'), it featured a condensed history of South African wines, starting with the "toekomsblik en deursettingsvermoë" ("vision and perseverance") of Jan van Riebeeck. Of great importance to this particular account was the wine farmers' ability to overcome trials and tribulations, century after century. This was done by cooperation and diligence, and later with some support given by the government. One example given was the commission of enquiry tasked in 1905 by the governor of the Cape to report on the state of the wine industry. It concluded that the survival of the industry was in tremendous danger. Subsequently, the Cape government made £50 000 available for the usage of cooperatives. This contributed to the formation of Helderfontein, Groot Drakenstein, Paarl, Wellington, Bovlei, Drostdy, Over Hex and Montagu cooperative wine cellars between 1905 and 1909.⁸¹

The article also spoke of C.W.H. Kohler and A.L. de Jager *marching* a group of wine farmers to the House of Parliament to discuss their concerns with the Prime Minister in 1909. These events led to the dropping of excise duties on brandy, which preceded the collapse of the ostrich industry in 1913, forcing more farmers to produce wine, which, according to the article, led to overproduction and, at last, to the formation of the K.W.V.⁸²

This piece continuously highlighted the way in which the South African wine industry had always succeeded in troubled times. For the author it had become a constant in 1939. It is important to note what role the notion of *good wine* played in this portrayal: "die uitvoer van goeiewyn na die buiteland (is) een van die belangrikste kanale waardeur ontslae geraak kan word van ons surplus produksie" ("the export of good wine abroad is one of the most important ways in which we can be rid of surplus production").⁸³

At its conclusion, two prominent messages stood out. Firstly, that most wine farmers had by 1939 achieved a lot with the help of the K.W.V., the government and

⁸¹ Chas. J. G. Niehaus, "Die Ontwikkeling in ons Wynboubedryf," *Wine and Spirit* IX, no. 97 (October 1939): 4377.

⁸² Niehaus, "Die Ontwikkeling in ons Wynboubedryf," 4379.

⁸³ Niehaus, "Die Ontwikkeling in ons Wynboubedryf," 4381.

the industry's relationship with Great Britain.⁸⁴ Secondly, that there was a longevity to the wine industry – all that was needed to keep on growing was cooperation and producers' attention to quality.⁸⁵

Quality in South Africa seemed to refer rather to the broader range of a producer than individual bottles of wine. Especially at the start of the war, and indeed under the influence of the K.W.V., that *bigger picture* was kept in mind, rather than smaller labels. South African bottled wine brands were therefore less energetically marketed than their Californian equivalents. One example was an advertisement for Constantia wines: A sketch of a Cape Dutch house was flanked by two sets of texts. The first is "Awarded 2 silver cups, 7 prizes... insist on these Prized Wines." The second is "Apply: Groot Constantia Estate P.O. Constantia, Cape."⁸⁶ This differed greatly from a page in the 1941 *Wines and Vines*, in which three different wineries advertised individual bottles of wine. The first was the *Regina Southern California* Port wine, shown in an ink sketch,⁸⁷ followed by a picture of the *Cameo wines'* Muscat wine⁸⁸ and a photo of three bottles of *Saint Remy* California Champagne.⁸⁹

The compilation *Cape Times Limited* in January 1939 advertised that it was printing wine labels. The message read that "a label, while primarily intended to inform the purchaser of the contents" could also be an effective marketing tool.⁹⁰ It is doubtful that this would have been any new concept in South Africa at the time. It does, however, underline the idea that wine producers did not view their wines as being contingent on discernible brands to the same extent as they appear to have been in California.

The marketing of brandies in South Africa was in stark contrast with this. As predictions of a fairer future for brandy domestically came with the news of the European War, an increasingly competitive spark in gaining market share was visible

⁸⁴ Great Britain, as shown throughout this thesis, was seen as a paramount market for the future of South African wines and brandies.

⁸⁵ Niehaus, "Die Ontwikkeling in ons Wynboubedryf," 4377.

⁸⁶ Groot Constantia Estate, advertisement placed in *Wine and Spirit* IX, no. 99 (December 1939): 4462.

⁸⁷ Ellena Bros., advertisement placed in *Wines and Vines* 22, no. 2 (February 1941): 3.

⁸⁸ Cameo Vineyards Company, advertisement placed in *Wines and Vines* 22, no. 2 (February 1941): 3.

⁸⁹ California Champagne Company, advertisement placed in *Wines and Vines* 22, no. 2 (February 1941): 3.

⁹⁰ Cape Times, advertisement placed in *Wine and Spirit* VIII, no. 88 (January 1938): 4038.

between different makes of brandy. As the Second World War progressed, there was a striking increase in campaigns for a diverse range of brandies within the Union of South Africa. This coincided with, but also contributed to, the increase in the domestic consumption of brandy.

In October 1941, SFW placed an advertisement in *Die Huisgenoot* asserting that most people believed good South African wines were only to be exported (as was certainly the case with perceptions about fruit).⁹¹ To the contrary, it was emphasised that S.F.W. was selling these good wines in South Africa, although no particular brand was mentioned. Furthermore, the advertisement read that many people were not aware that *Mellow Wood* was one of the “purest and healthiest” brandies available. In 1941, *Mellow Wood*, as far as advertising was concerned, became the flagship brandy of S.F.W. – at a time where brandy looked as if it would increasingly become the flagship product of the wine industry of South Africa. The advertisement cited *Die Suid Afrikaanse Tydskrif van Geneeskunde* (South African Magazine of Medicine) of 12 September 1936 which had made the claim that, although *Mellow Wood* was less famous amongst doctors, it was some of the best brandy available at a fraction of the customary price, and that doctors would be wise to recommend it.⁹²

The campaign for *Mellow Wood*, with a lot of emphasis put on the health aspects of the product, reflected much of the branding of K.W.V. brandies at the time, some of which were even labelled with the words “a key to health.” This was already present on K.W.V. brandies with the vintage of 1926.⁹³ In the years to come, many K.W.V. brands actually featured a picture of a key with the letters ‘K.W.V.’ serving as the key’s teeth. This logo was used throughout K.W.V.s branding. The *Mellow Wood* advertising campaign, although ambitious, was not as aggressive as that of some of the other brandies on the market.

Two brands that in 1940 and 1941 moved away from advertising brandy as a health beverage came in the form of “Chateau” and “Kommando.” *Chateau* probably had the most aggressive advertising campaign in South African magazines in 1940. It

⁹¹ This is shown, amongst other examples, in an advertisement placed by Die Sagtevrugteraad, *Naweek*, Thursday, March 13, 1941, n.p.

⁹² Stellenbosch Farmers’ Winery, advertisement placed in *Die Huisgenoot* XXVI, no. 967 (4 October 1940): 1.

⁹³ Bottle on display in K.W.V. Archives, Paarl, Retrieved on June 5, 2016.

featured a series of icons, most of which were from popular English literature or folklore. One advertisement started out with the words “Wie ken nie die Scarlet Pimpernel” (sic) (Who does not know of the Scarlet Pimpernel). Other advertisements in this campaign used icons such as Robin Hood, Mr Pickwick (of Charles Dickens), and Shakespeare’s Falstaff (described to be the embodiment of Old-English happiness).⁹⁴

This *Chateau*-campaign was unusual in its context. 1940 saw the end of the *Phoney War*, the fall of France, and the start and continuation of the Battle of Britain. One would imagine an advertising campaign within a war-involved Union of South Africa to reflect something of the war. Castle Beer did this with a range of advertisements depicting lighter moments in wartime – from a bottle of beer mistakenly being shot from a canon as a missile, to soldiers asking for a raise after seeing their superior officer drink his beer and being noticeably happier. Instead *Chateau*, with the usage of mostly English icons (in *Huisgenoot* it seemed to be exclusively English icons) in 1940 marked a paradoxical move away from the focus on French heritage in the marketing of brandy. This, after the fall of France, may have been merely a coincidence, but it nevertheless still illuminates something of the prevalent perceptions in 1940 and 1941. Similarly surprising was the 1942 film, *Casablanca*, in which Ingrid Bergman asks Humphry Bogart if what she heard at the window was “cannon fire, or... [her] heart pounding” as the Germans advance into Paris, and he rushes her to finish her glass of Champagne. It is a ‘cordon rouge,’ but the brand is not legible. The fall of France appeared at the time to be only marginally more important than finishing one’s drink or relating one’s brand to the Scarlet Pimpernel, Mr Pickwick, Robin Hood or Falstaff. Significantly, a turn to British heritage in the marketing of brandy deviated from the hitherto prevalent and increasing use of French area names in other wine-related products.

Granted, the British legacy of these brandy advertising icons would have been in tune with the fact that the Union of South Africa was a loyal Empire-Commonwealth Dominion serving the British war effort. An intensified assimilation of British characters and values in the advertising campaign should thus not necessarily be interpreted as South African brandy turning its back on a French heritage. It may have been more a

⁹⁴ Chateau Brandy, advertisement placed in *Die Huisgenoot*, XXVI, no. 967 (4 October 1940): 26.

matter of obvious ‘commercial patriotism’, or an utilisation of wartime patriotism for marketing purposes.

Kommando Brandy, hot on the heels of *Chateau* in terms of the regularity of its advertising, used war-sentiments in a more easily interpretable manner. Its campaign consisted of a series of advertisements regurgitating two central things: firstly, that the type of brandy had long existed, and secondly, that *Afrikaners* had always enjoyed it. The campaign was in a sense more solemn and more national than that of *Chateau*. Its focus on the *Afrikaans* nature of the brand formed part of a wide range of products and business that believed in the endurance of this market. This seemed to be more important than referencing any topical war in one’s branding.

In the light of constant reassurance in the South African publication, *Wine and Spirit* in October and November 1939, that the European war would not harm the wine industry of the Union, columns appeared in December 1939 with contrasting titles. Examples of these were, *South Africans Should Drink South African Wine: Symbol of Highest Patriotism* and even *Why not a ‘wine for South Africa’ drive?*⁹⁵ Quite amusingly, two articles in the publication were actually from California: the first from Herman L. Wentz, the Chairman of the Wine Advisory Board in California, and the second from the famed Louis Petri. It became clear that the K.W.W.’s publication, *Wine and Spirit* was intent on aligning itself with the United States of America in their industries’ adjustment to instabilities abroad. We can now turn again to conditions in California.

1 7 Branding the War in California

In December 1939, as the British Government started implementing the plan to increase the reach of conscription to include men from the ages of 19 to 41, and as the first Indian and Canadian troops were arriving in Europe, the Californian wine world seemed more self-contained than ever. This was no anomaly; in a study of the Second World War, one is often struck by the lack of coverage it received in contemporary industry publications. It would take a very large explosion, like that of 1945, to truly shake the world. In the meantime, Californian wine producers were apparently more

⁹⁵ Terence P. O’Donoghue, “South Africans Should Drink South African Wine: Symbol of Highest Patriotism,” *Wine and Spirit* IX, no. 99 (December 1939): 4461; “Why not a ‘wine for South Africa’ drive?” *Wine and Spirit* IX, no. 99 (December 1939): 4463.

intent on shaking wine martini's, inventing new ways to mix wine and orange juice, and to capitalize – especially from the middle of 1940 – on the loss of some European wine producers. In the Californian winelands, the war seemed to be mentioned only in passing: typically, between a recipe for hot wine and an article on Cellophane and ribbons, the following appeared in *The Wines and Vines*:

“Aging somewhere at the bottom of the Atlantic Ocean are many bottles of select San Joaquin Valley sweet wines once destined for European dinner tables. These wines formed part of a cargo of the 8960 ton British Royal Mail liner “Lochavon,” which a German submarine torpedoed October 13.”⁹⁶

The editor of the *Wines and Vines* seemed intent on not blowing such stories out of proportion. Wherever Dionysus was of concern, the war could not possibly lead to a dystopian destiny:

“The truth is, the war will have little effect. In the first place, the percentage of European and other imports has not been over 6 percent in recent years. Therefore, 6 percent is the maximum natural increase probable even though the source supply for imports were to be cut off completely.”⁹⁷

One must, however, note that the editor did get into the spirit of the war in the previous month's publication, saying that “The Californian wine industry right now engages in the most momentous war in its history – a battle against under-consumption. And, as in a military war, it's a fight that demands – and, fortunately has achieved-solidarity without which optimum success would be impossible.”⁹⁸

The nature of this war would inevitably become a mere example for the arguably more important wine industry: “Yes, the big offence has started. The Californian wine industry finds itself moving solidly, invincibly forward toward a great and lasting victory.”⁹⁹

The *wine drive* was fleetingly called the *wine march*. The march was, however, short-lived: as soon as the public had been given the idea that, for the time being, the U.S.A., would not enter the war, business at home for the most part, returned to business as usual, apart from the notion that home was something that had to be

⁹⁶ “U.S. Wine Cargo Torpedoed,” *Wines and Vines* 20, no.11 (November 1939): 28.

⁹⁷ C.H. van Kriedt, “Only sales Effort will increase wine market,” *Wines and Vines* 20, no. 12 (December 1939): 3.

⁹⁸ Van Kriedt, “Only sales Effort will increase wine market,” 3.

⁹⁹ Van Kriedt, “Only sales Effort will increase wine market,” 3.

looked after, now more than ever. Indeed, the American economy adapted to the international condition. The Californian wine industry, however, did not take its foot off the pedal.

The wine drive, which started alongside growing the European instabilities that would merge into the war, took its cue from an internationally prevalent culture of cultivating domestic assets in the self-sufficiency climate of the later Depression decade. The 1930s, if such broad links are permitted to be made, saw a world-wide phenomenon of increased attention to local produce and the consumption of local goods. From Hitler to the K.W.V.'s Kohler; from Daladier to Coca-Cola's Woodruff: the idea of self-efficiency was paramount. In California, such a wine drive would have been informed by this rhetoric, which would become louder than ever as guns were fired later in 1939 and in the beginning of 1940.

Home and health became ever more closely associated. In the cold weather of December 1939, one saw many articles and advertisements concerned with health. In what seems to have been a newly found distrust in man's ability to conserve life, the role of nature was of pronounced importance. One article published in this time, *Wine is Nature's own Remedy for Ills*," included some peculiar examples of health-awareness. The author wrote, for instance, that "wine alcohol is different"; "indispensable to the sportsman," and that it "build[t] up the young."¹⁰⁰

In relation to the war, it was said that wine of good quality supplied to soldiers increased "powers of resistance to fatigue and disease." It was "recommended for the disposition."¹⁰¹

1 8 Drive Marketing

A prominent form of advertising of the American wine drive was to literally market wines where people drove. Billboards were put up to market the drinking of local wines, but also, with the use of more general advertisements, to market new ways of drinking wine. This included depictions of wine and fruit and mulled wine (much like

¹⁰⁰ "Wine is Nature's own Remedy for Ills," *Wines and Vines* 20, no. 12 (December 1939): 7.

¹⁰¹ This was actually said by Professor Leon Barnard at the Academy of Medicine in Paris. Quoted in: "Wine is Nature's own Remedy for Ills," 7.

the German glühwein).¹⁰² One billboard, put up on a highway in New York and used as a subway poster, advertised the *California Cooler*. The recipe of the “cooler” was actually on the display: “½ bottle of light wine (either red or white); Equal part of Seltzer; Plus Fruits, Sugar, Ice.”¹⁰³ The wine depicted in a cool drink glass, in much the same way as it was in the first *Godfather* movie (see Appendix). Californian wines were also advertised in newspapers, on pins (one pin was shaped like a four leaved clover), and counters.

From a broad reading of various adverts, the wine drive advertised California wines *to consumers* by doing the following six things.

Firstly, as mentioned, wine was advertised as a health beverage. Much of the information used by Californian wine merchants between the wars was backed up by French universities, who in the early 1930s sought to buttress and rejuvenate the French wine market by publishing papers in this regard.¹⁰⁴ Wine was to be advertised as an indispensable health beverage, endorsed by doctors in nationally distributed media. By the end of 1939, this idea formed the centre of the Californian Wine Drive. In the *Wines and Vines*, doctors were quoted as saying that strict abstinence would not be as conducive to one’s health as controlled drinking of beverages such as wine.

¹⁰² Van Kriedt, C.H. ed. “Hot Mulled Wine: the modern winter drink.” *Wines and Vines* 21, no. 1 (January 1940): 14. One report in the *Wines and Vines* showed a frail looking man, named Carl F. Ester, throwing mulled wine into glasses with a soup ladle. Beneath the picture, it read “Carl F. Ester, head bartender at the Ahwahnee Hotel in Yosemite Valley, reports “exceptionally good success with mulled wine.” The hotel still exists today, and is quite popular.

¹⁰³ A picture of this billboard was printed in the *Wines and Vines* in: H.F. Stoll, ed., “California Wine Advertising Campaign is launched,” *Wines and Vines* 20, no.5 (May 1939): 5.

¹⁰⁴ In France, the efforts of co-operatives in the years immediately after the First World War saw trends in wine prices and even wine sales stabilising up until a peak around 1922, after which prices fell sharply.

Centralisation within regions therefore soon begged for centralisation across borders, and even more so as borders had physically become entrenched in the aftermath of the war. In 1924 the Office International de Vigne et du Vin (OIV) was officially formed by eight nations (Spain, Tunisia, France, Portugal, Luxembourg, Greece, Italy and Hungary). By 1917 the OIV was given legal status, and with that managed to represent twenty-five wine producing nations in 1928. French Universities were quick to reinforce a rapidly enlarging wine industry with the necessary research. Great strides were made in the improvement of viticulture, as necessitated chemical research (something that would be of even greater importance during the Second World War) throughout the War, produced unintended – or, with the French involved – intended technological advances in the fields of pesticides and machinery. The War had also seen an improvement in logistics, transport and communication. Research done with regard to wine and health saw numerous publications, many of which were used to inform the ‘health’ aspect of the Californian Wine Drive.

Wine was, secondly, advertised as a lifestyle drink. Particularly when the U.S.A had already entered the war, one saw increased adverts for wine with meals. In one advertisement, it was actually shown how a family living off canned foods and rations were still enjoying fine wine. Before the war, there were newspaper advertisements that read “come dinnertime, enjoy some wine from California grapes.”¹⁰⁵ During the war, this would evolve to “Wine changes war dishes into food for kings.”¹⁰⁶

Thirdly, one saw gender-targeted advertising aimed at selling California wines to women. Naturally, there were adverts designed to appeal to women before the war. 1939 and 1940, did, however, see a distinct shift in their perceived importance to the domestic wine market. The wine drive was not the only wine-marketing scheme that put an enhanced focus on women, but it certainly helped to structure the way in which wine marketers approached female consumers. The wine drive, in 1939, was not only the biggest consolidated effort to market wines in the United States in terms of monetary value, but also the biggest in history at the time. It followed that the wine drive’s focus on women would have a lasting effect.

In January 1941, the South African *Wine and Spirits* reported that in America, 44% of a bar’s patrons were women.¹⁰⁷ This came as a surprise to South African wine marketers, for whom the United States consumer seemed more powerful than (he) had been in a decade, and for whom males still represented the majority of occupations and income.

In 1939 it had, however, already been assessed that the female consumer would be playing a pivotal role in the consumption of California wines. One full-page newspaper advertisement, placed by the Wine Advisory Board as part of the wine drive, read: “more and more,” says Mrs Lawrence Tibber, “my guests are choosing wine.”¹⁰⁸ California wine was then mentioned prominently. The board placed another similar advertisement, which was to be printed in *Life*, *Collier’s*, *Liberty Magazine*,

¹⁰⁵ H.F. Stoll, ed., “California Wine Advertising Campaign is launched,” *Wines and Vines* 20, no.5 (May 1939): 5.

¹⁰⁶ Wine Advisory Board, advertisement placed in *Wines and Vines* 23, no. 10 (October 1943): 31.

¹⁰⁷ New York Correspondent to the *Wine and Spirit*, “Best Selling Drinks in U.S.A.,” *Wines and Spirit X*, no. 12, (January 1941): 4881.

¹⁰⁸ Advertisement placed in various newspapers in July. Also printed in *Wines and Vines*: “Wine advertising to over 15 000 000 U.S. Families Breaks July 22,” *Wines and Vines* 20, numbers 7-8 (July-August, 1939): 7.

Cosmopolitan and *Red Book*, which read, “I am amazed,’ reports Mrs. Basil Rathbone ‘How many of my guests now prefer Wine.’”¹⁰⁹

Hecker Company introduced its own range of wines, all packed in one box branded as “The Housewife’s Cellar.” The wines that were included were Sherry, Claret, Sauterne and Port. On the box itself there were instructions on how to serve each of these beverages. The slogan “wine makes good food taste better” was also displayed.

The Anchor Hocking Glass Corporation placed an advertisement in the war years proclaiming that, “today’s fast-selling wines are capped with SHELLBACKS, for women prefer the easy-opening tight-sealing Anchor Shellback Cap.” The advertisement also included the hint, “especially designed for feminine fingers.”¹¹⁰

The wine drive also compartmentalised wines for different seasons; certain meals; certain times of the day, and for certain types of guests. Like today, different styles of wines were almost arbitrarily paired with meals and meal times. “Sweet (fortified) wines are refreshment wines and should be served before and after meals- never with meals.”

Especially after the U.S.A. had entered the war, and certain rations were imposed, wine was advertised as the perfect pairing to any canned food. One wonders how a linear, metallic Sauvignon Blanc would have gone with canned asparagus or peaches. The Wine Advisory Board in January 1944 even posted recipes for wine hamburgers, spaghetti baked in wine, baked apples (in port) and “wine baked beans.”¹¹¹

This tied in with the last way in which consumers were convinced to drink more wine: the diversification of serving suggestions. The wine drive ushered in a range of clumsy new wine-related concoctions, cordials and meals. In some stores, wines were packed out next to canned fruit cocktails. A recipe of how to mix the two was displayed in the middle of the exhibition. In one section of the news in *Wines and Vines*, the following was announced: “California’s two greatest agricultural industries, citrus and

¹⁰⁹ H.F. Stoll, ed., “Cash in on National Wine Week September 10-17,” *Wines and Vines* 20, no. 9 (September 1939): 2.

¹¹⁰ Anchor Hocking Glass Corporation, advertisement placed in *Wines and Vines* 22, no. 2. (February 1941): n.p.

¹¹¹ H.F. Stoll, ed., “News of Wines and Vines,” *Wines and Vines* 25, no.1 (January 1944): 27.

wine, have joined hands to produce a brand new and refreshing Wine Cooler-Sunkist Wedding Punch.”¹¹²

But the wine drive also advertised the Californian wine industry to investors and retailers. In one of the first adverts placed by the Wine Advisory Board in the *Wines and Vines*, it was proclaimed that here was an opportunity being created to “cash in.”¹¹³ This particular advertisement was aimed at retailers. Despite the \$2 million dollars pledged to help advertise Californian wines, further investment and collaboration was strongly encouraged.

The Californian Wine Advisory Board’s influence seemed more urbanised than that of the K.W.V. in South Africa. Yet, equally, one sees a very similar, persuasive approach to prompt centralisation between producers, albeit less verbally aggressive, and more focused on capital gain. The *Wines and Vines* wrote that, “wine growers who distribute their production under their own brand or trade mark, [would] lose much of the value of their advertising if they [did] not synchronise it with the Wine Advisory Board.”¹¹⁴

As the U.S.A. entered the War in 1941, the instigators of the wine drive within the Wine Advisory Board were not necessarily playing such a central role as they would have hoped. Inevitably, the wine drive would have to adhere to wartime standards, and even packaging standardisation. As wine became part of the war effort, wine marketing would inevitably change. A few weeks after the U.S.A. entered the war, the wine drive launched its winter campaign.¹¹⁵ Soon after this, the wine drive took to a more war-informed form.

19 Conclusions

In the years leading up to the Second World War, the South African wine industry did not bear the same obvious scars of prohibition as the United States of America. The fact that wines were prohibited for only a portion of the population (albeit the

¹¹² “News of wines and Vines,” *Wines and vines* 21, no. 6 (July 1940): 29

¹¹³ The Wine Advisory Board, “Cash in on National Wine Week, September 10-17,” *Wines and Vines* 20, no. 9 (September 1939): 2.

¹¹⁴ Donald L. Gilbert, “Editorial,” *Wines and Vines* 22, no. 2 (February 1941): 4.

¹¹⁵ Wine Advisory Board, advertisement placed in *Wines and Vines* 22, no. 12 (December 1941): 13.

biggest),¹¹⁶ meant that there was a greater sense of complacency with the new status quo than in the United States. By 1939, there was only a small domestic market for wines and brandies within The Union. Furthermore, as there was a relatively small population compared to the United States of America, the rising domestic consumption by those who were able to buy liquor did not spell out the same promise of prosperity for producers as in California.

The K.W.V., having positioned itself rather as an exporter, was not yet as vocal about legislation preventing the sale of alcohol within The Union at the start of the war. Chapter Two will show how this changed dramatically as difficulties with regard to exporting to Britain arose by 1941.

Conversely, a domestic market seemed to be the first port of call for the Wine Advisory Board in California. The fact that the American prohibition incorporated all classes and races made it a more easily definable menace to address. Producers were thus galvanised to overcome its legacy, which resulted in improved efforts to sell wines and brandies within the United States of America. This included the tailoring of packages to suit women, and branding wine as a versatile and healthy beverage. Marketing campaigns for wine in 1939 far exceeded anything in South Africa in terms of funding and scope.

The jurisdicative support given to the K.W.V. ushered in an era of growth and centralisation in South Africa. The rise of other bigger merchants and co-operatives can also be seen in this period. The SFW, led by William Charles Winshaw, exerted authority over producers with its buying power.¹¹⁷ In the U.S.A. the same kind of centralisation is visible, especially around boards in California. Companies such as Roma had, since the early 1930s, created deep routed markets for their wines, especially in New York.

As South Africa entered the Second World War it was clear that the exporting of wine and brandies to Great Britain could soon become the most sustainable market for the snowballing production of wines, brandies and vermouth in the Western Cape.

¹¹⁶ L. Pretorius and W. B. Vosloo, "Interest Groups in the Republic of South Africa," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 413 (1974): 74.

¹¹⁷ For instance, although this should not form part of the broader argument of this thesis, it has been rumoured that SFW (Stellenbosch Farmers' Winery) gave farmers blank contracts to sign. Naturally this is an exaggeration, but highlights something of producers' relationship with wholesalers in this time.

Exporting into the rest of colonial Africa was often mentioned, but it appeared less appealing to the board of the KWV. Producing brandy for the war effort was similarly not a thought that excited producers as much as the idea of filling the gap on British shelves that was left by the inability of European wine producers to export their products in wartime. Exporting to the rest of Africa, as well as exporting for the war effort, would surprise the K.W.V. by the end of the war.¹¹⁸

The K.W.V.'s perceived relationship with the government added to its authority in 1939. *Wine and Spirit*, much like other prevailing South African newspapers and magazines, approached the outbreak of the war with calmness in October and November of that year. Despite South Africa being invested in the Allied camp, and indeed its own independent declaration of war, the fight seemed to be someone else's – it was mostly referred to as the 'European war.' It would, if producers kept cool heads, inevitably lead to higher sales of South African products. This approach was, though, abandoned by December 1939, and replaced by a concern to gain from the loss of European producers. The *Wine Drive* in America was frequently invoked as a model to follow. The K.W.V.'s voice of reason in the *Wine and Spirit* became noticeably more shrill, as shown in this chapter.¹¹⁹

As new brands of wine in California were re-introduced to consumers, so were South African brandies. The scale was, however, not comparable. To mimic the American approach in their capitalisation of the war (by focusing so heavily on domestic sales) would have been unwise, as the South African domestic market was so much smaller. A more rational and calculating voice existed, and the K.W.V. set its sights on outgoing cargo ships.

Those who were selling brandies within South Africa gained from the lack of imports of whisky, which was directly linked to European exports decreasing during the war. In the same way, Californian wines and Champagnes were stocked on shelves throughout the U.S.A. as stocks of European products disappeared.

Overall, this chapter has shown that both the South African wine industry and that of California recognised that the Second World War could potentially be capitalised on. From the start of hostilities overseas to the official entry of the United States in 1941,

¹¹⁸ Ritzema de la Bat, interview with author, August 22, 2016.

¹¹⁹ Especially with articles such as: Vermaaklikheid of Verneukery?" *Wine and Spirit* VIII, no. 88 (January 1939): 4027.

both industries did gain and grow. A centralised effort (revolving around the authority of the K.W.V.) to replace European wines on European shelves was visible in South Africa. Californian producers in the U.S.A. tapped into an arguably more serviceable and predictable market: home.

CHAPTER 2: Pressing the War

“Had a submarine attempted to torpedo the Portuguese steamer *Amarante* en route to the United States recently, it would have had difficulty sinking her for she carried 365 000 champagne corks...”¹²⁰

2 1 Introduction

Chapter 2 discusses factors in both the South African and Californian wine industries that were of importance as the Second World War progressed. This includes some of the important war-measures taken, such as increased taxes or manufacturing requirements and the two industries’ respective reactions towards these. Raisin production and its importance throughout the war will also be discussed, as well as its effect on wine making, especially in California.

The transport of South African wines to overseas markets became a key issue in the wine industry in 1941. As South Africa was also producing other war goods, some described as war-essentials like munitions, shipping space for wines contracted. Adding to this, Great Britain had imposed regulations to limit the import of wines as its harbours took increasing strain from late 1940. This chapter will explore the K.W.V.’s reaction to a sudden decrease of exports against the background of rapidly increasing production.

Uniformity, standardisation and innovation in production and branding in wines in both countries and the relationship of such factors to the procuring of new markets will also be considered. Some trends, especially that towards standardisation, can only partly be explained by war shortages – although the need for wine boards to prove their commitment to the war effort meant that some Californian businesses in particular speeded up the process of standardising their products. This chapter will show that in South Africa such commitments were not as easily made.

Changes in wine technology and production and its relationship with innovation in wartime are often taken for granted. Chapters Two and Three will unscrew the cap of some important technological changes – just to let the bottle breathe. A full serving of innovation in production can be found in Chapter Four.

¹²⁰ Donald L. Gilbert, ed., “News of Wines and Vines,” *Wines and Vines* 23, no. 2 (February 1942): 29.

Speaking of unscrewing wine; the increased advertisement of bottle-closures other than corks during the war is noteworthy. These closures were not necessarily advertised as cheaper, cleaner or as more efficient, but rather as the smart alternative for female consumers. *The fragile hands of a woman*, so often shown in wartime historiography to be those of the brave and skilled auxiliary in factory employment, were still no match for a corkscrew.

2 2 Raisins in South Africa

“Go for raisins!’ a worthy man of God instructed his sons in the Thirties when they bought themselves small wine farms. And the vicarage boys tried valiantly, but without success. Their labourers secretly continued to press and distil, to drink and make merry, until their earthy abandon one night provoked an untimely investigation from the well-meaning farmers.”¹²¹

In 1940, the directors of the K.W.V. expressed their wish to no longer offer bonuses on exported raisins or Sultanas. The following reasons were given for this resolution.

Firstly, it was asserted that a South African Dried Fruit Scheme was already established. It was based in Stellenbosch and had received regulatory powers for the industry. The problem, however, was that the scheme could not initiate price-fixing, limiting its powers immensely. The K.W.V. maintained that it supported the idea of the *South African Dried Fruit Scheme* acquiring price-fixing powers.

Secondly, the government had given all the regulatory powers over the production of Raisins and Sultanas to the new scheme. The government also supported the scheme in its dealings.

Thirdly, the K.W.V. reported to have spent almost £500 000 between 1923 and 1940 in the offering of bonuses. This was done to promote the export of raisins. In 1940, the K.W.V. claimed that this had amounted to no real gains.

A fourth reason was the fact that the Government had made it known that the exports of raisins and sultanas would be limited severely for the rest of that year. The prices were likely to be fixed. It must be said that the government had promised to aid

¹²¹ I.L. de Villiers, “a sermon of sorts,” in Marthinus Versfeld, Merwe Scholtz and I.L. de Villiers, *Wine and Wisdom* (Cape Town: Tafelberg), 38.

producers in finding other overseas markets. Taking the scale of the war by May 1940 into account, such a prospect seemed unlikely.

At the time, the directors of K.W.V felt that the continued productions of raisins and sultanas in wartime would not be profitable.¹²²

The decision not to pay bonuses on raisins and sultanas on exports in 1940 would have been met with an outcry. It was already May of that year, and farmers who had budgeted for this bonus would have felt hard done by. The Government duly put pressure on the K.W.V. to still pay the bonuses of 1940.

The *South African Dried Fruit Scheme* later approached the K.W.V. again, requesting that the bonus be paid out at least on raisins that were being distributed at very low rates to schoolchildren within South Africa. The K.W.V. budged, but barely bolstered this distribution – agreeing to a bonus of 1 penny per lb to raisins sold. This amounted to only £6000.¹²³ On a basic calculation with the use of these figures, one can conclude that around 1 440 000 lbs (just over 653 173 kg) of raisins were sold to schools in 1940.

In 1940, producers of dried fruit in the Western Cape and concentrated around Worcester were hoping for an administrative centralisation as effective and as well connected as that of the K.W.V. As indicated, individuals such as Kohler thought that raisins were an unsustainable venture. Meanwhile, the Dried Fruit Board advertised in some newspapers and magazines that it would be able to assist: any unsold quantities of dried fruit would still be taken by the Board if it was notified in good time. The produce would be inspected and graded, and then bought at fixed prices. This offer was only valid until 31 May 1940.

The idea of selling raisins to schoolchildren was not terribly successful. Indeed, selling surplus raisins to schools in South Africa had actually been a practice for some years by the K.W.V., before its attempted distancing from the product in 1940. It was never really an impressive market. In 1935, for instance, South African consumption of its own raisins was 3,973,630 lbs. In that same year, the surplus exports of raisins amounted to 5,223,321 lbs. The internal consumption included both Rhodesias. The

¹²² C.W.H. Kohler, speech transcribed in *Wine and Spirit* IX, no. 104 (May 1940): 4627.

¹²³ Kohler, speech (May 1940): 4627.

K.W.V. also reported that a lot of it was, in fact, really only consumed by ‘non-Europeans’ (or the so-called ‘coloureds and natives’).¹²⁴

The K.W.V. in July 1940 advised the Dried Fruit Board to market raisins more intensively to, as it was put, “schoolchildren, (white, coloured and native) with raisins of an excellent quality at a very reasonable price.”¹²⁵ The K.W.V. had distanced itself from the unromantic pursuit of selling dried fruit (for the time being), but continued to impose its knowledge, built up from a decade of disastrous sales of such produce. Next, we consider the fortunes of the raisin in America.

2 3 Raisin’ the wine bar in California

Apart from advertising wines, the *wine drive* in the United States of America also took time to advertise itself. The Wine Advisory Board claimed that, during the first half of 1939, 306 661 lines of media advertising were deployed in 123 Newspapers. In magazines, there were a total of 114 670 lines.¹²⁶

Californian wines now entered a new and colourful era. In the month in which the Second World War broke out, the *Wines and Vines* showed off its first coloured front page. It was a banner for the ‘National wine week’ between 10 and 19 September, 1939.

As discussed at various places in this study, advertisers put considerable focus on the quality of their wines, their health-attributes and their versatility. This was not before the ‘outsourcing’ of marketing campaigns. Roma, for instance, was known for making use of agencies to produce its advertisements. Where the alleged health attributes of wine were concerned, much of the attempted public persuasion would be done by the collective wine drive or the Wine Advisory Board. The versatility of wine, like its use in food or in the making of ‘wine-coolers’, would similarly be advocated without much assistance from the wineries themselves.¹²⁷

The perceived quality of wine, however, depended on the reputation of a certain winery. Producers between 1939 and 1941 advertised their bottled wines as

¹²⁴ “Raisins for Schoolchildren,” *Wine and Spirit* IX, no. 107 (August 1940) 4709.

¹²⁵ “Raisins for Schoolchildren,” 4709.

¹²⁶ “More Wine Advertising Used,” *Wines and Vines* 20, no. 11 (November 1939): 13.

¹²⁷ “Wine Cooler Recipes in Demand,” *Wines and Vines* 20, no. 7-8. (July-August 1939) 22.

discernible individual products rather than just as being sweet, dry or fortified drinks within the artillery of a region.

In the beginning of 1939, it seemed possible to supply any growing demand with reasonable quality wines. One writer at the time declared “as the industry launches its \$2000 000 three-year advertising and trade promotion program – the first such effort in history – the survey reveals the industry in the healthy position of holding sufficient aging stocks to supply all immediate demands for mature wines in the United States.”¹²⁸

By the end of 1940, however, this was no longer the case. Consumption and demand grew faster than the continued production of high quality wines, or the suitable vines for it. Producers turned to table- and raisin varieties. Of raisins, there were plenty.

Vine growers in California had planted more grapes during the time of prohibition than before it.¹²⁹ As mentioned earlier, between 1920 and 1923, more than 300,000 acres of grapes were fixed into the unsecure Californian winelands. More than 50% of these were raisin varieties.¹³⁰ In the 1930s, as the production of wines increased, many of these varieties were pressed for wines and brandies, with the latter product arguably being a more successful use of some of these varieties. With the consumption increase of 1939-1941 in America, Californians generally made wines of substandard quality. Nonetheless, a producer in 1939 would have lost no sleep over pressing all of his available grapes for wine as the surplus problems of the previous year were so passionately addressed by the likes of *The Wines and Vines*, with the reassurance that California wines would be sold as never before. The 57, 933, 000 gallons of wine pressed in 1937 (which became 54, 890 000 gallons in 1938) jumped to an estimated 65, 915 000 gallons in 1939. *The Wines and Vines* in December 1939 predicted that 72 500 000 gallons would be pressed in 1940.¹³¹

¹²⁸ H.A. Cadow, “Third Annual Wine Industry Statistical Survey,” *Wines and Vines* 20, no.2 (February 1939): 2.

¹²⁹ Lapsley, “Bottled Poetry, 99.

¹³⁰ Lapsley, “Bottled Poetry, 99.

¹³¹ E.B. Wienand, “We All Benefit by Stable Prices – Conditions Indicate Greater Price Security in 1940,” *Wines and Vines* 20, no. 12 (December 1939): 4.

The sudden production of so much wine was headed by, amongst others, entrepreneurs like Louis Petri or the Cella brothers of Roma. Before 1940, individuality and quality was written all over their bottles, but the latter was not always found inside it. In 1940, more than 54% of California's grape crop was pressed for wine, even though only 28% of it consisted of traditional wine varieties.¹³²

The arrival of the bigger distilling firms, especially in the late 1930s, meant that a powerful faction in the wine industry also put their focus on lower-priced wines and wine for distilling. Grapes that were destined to become raisins (much of which had been planted during prohibition) were reintroduced as grapes for cheaper and commonly lower-quality wines. With the boom in consumption, many of these wines were first on the shelves – on the front lines of introducing wine to the American consumer. They enjoyed better distribution and advertising as bigger firms typically had better structures and more capital to facilitate this. For many Americans, their first sip of wine would thus be confusing.

Naturally, there were many reasons for this underperformance, as there are today. The use of raisin types merely contributed to stones given to those who asked for bread.

Stones, though, are better suited for throwing. On 14 August 1942, an order was passed in which most grapes of raisin varieties were to be produced as raisins, and not pressed for liquor. This was Order M-205-a.¹³³ Historians often indicate that this meant the immediate conversion of raisin grapes for the war effort. In actual fact, this was not the case for the first year since the order. Around 100 000 tons of Thompson and Muscat grapes were taken to wineries or sold as table grapes, instead of being distributed as raisins.¹³⁴ This translated into 37,500 tons of raisins.¹³⁵

This created much disgruntlement in California. Especially in the San Joaquin valley, there were reports that growers of raisin varieties were unhappy with the

¹³² Lapsley, "Bottled Poetry, 99.

¹³³ A. Setrakian, "Report on the Raisin Program," *Wines and Vines* 25, no. 4 (April 1944): 24.

¹³⁴ In the case of Thompson seedless, it was in fact allowed to keep grapes that were on girdled vines for purposes other than raisins.

¹³⁵ Setrakian, "Report on the Raisin Program," 24.

inconsistency that came with the order. Growers who did not adhere to it fetched up to 40% more for their grapes.¹³⁶

In 1943, more extensive audits were done into the production of raisins. Adding to this, a Raisin Industry Advisory Committee had already been instigated by Roy F. Hendrickson in late 1942 (who was the Director of War Food at the time), and a committee was placed under it with the task of monitoring inconsistent adherence to Order M-205-a. Twenty men from raisin-producing areas were selected to serve on this committee. This was done without compensation, and seen as a vital wartime service. These so-called *Raisin Collaborators* advised the government that *all* raisin varieties would have to be used as raisins, without exception.¹³⁷

In April 1943, about 1500 grape growers met to hear of the renewed raisin programme. At the meeting they heard that the Food Distribution Order 17 would be revised, and that all eight counties in California in which raisins were produced (in the 1940s these were Kern, Tulare, Fresno, Kings, Stanislaus, Merced, San Joaquin and Madera) were now obliged to convert all their raisin varieties into raisins.¹³⁸

The Office of Price Administration (OPA) put wine under price controls during the war years. For the most part, however, there were no price controls on the actual *grapes*.¹³⁹ This meant that, although the price for bottled wine was nearing a maximum price that consumers were willing to pay, the price of making it was going up. This diminished the profits of bottlers and wine merchants, and along with a lack of transport contributed to the movement towards bottling wines on one's own farm. Lapsley notes that this practice was not as common before the war.

In 1943, California produced more than 2 600 000 tons of grapes. This was the greatest amount ever at the time. Growers earned a staggering \$159 000 000 for this mammoth harvest. What made this all the more surprising was that 395 000 tons of this consisted of raisins (also the largest amount ever), which were paid for by the government at a fixed and reduced price.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁶ Setrakian, "Report on the Raisin Program," 24.

¹³⁷ Setrakian, "Report on the Raisin Program," 24.

¹³⁸ Setrakian, "Report on the Raisin Program," 24.

¹³⁹ Lapsley, "Bottled Poetry," 101.

¹⁴⁰ Setrakian, "Report on the Raisin Program," 24.

In April 1944, Californian wine growers were informed that the entire crop of raisins would again go for the war-effort. A meeting was held with the members of the California Grape Growers and Shippers' Association, where Buell F. Maben (who was the regional administrator of the War Food Administration) confirmed this unofficially.¹⁴¹

Raisins formed part of what was called *concentrated foods*, which were deemed as essential for travelling soldiers. These foods had a high concentration of nutrition, yet took up comparatively little space.

This news was not met with as much excitement as it would undoubtedly have been met in South Africa, where raisins entered a crisis with the K.W.V.'s attempts to distance itself from that commodity in 1939 and in the beginning of 1940.

Equally, in America raisins were not a road to riches. In California, growers of raisin varieties (Sultana, Muscat and Thompson seedless) had received a mere \$37,50 a ton from the government. Table grapes (which were not declared raisin-varieties) could still reach prices of about \$110 a ton.¹⁴²

2 4 A great divide

Despite the K.W.V.'s apparent unwillingness to compromise on the subject of raisins in 1940, they eventually did so later in the year. One reason for this change of heart was the implementation of Act 23 of 1940. This was a significant Act the K.W.V. had long lobbied for. An arguably far more important concession was made by the government and the board's grievances with the issue of raisins were consequently hushed.

Act No. 23 of 1940 stipulated the following:

"The vereniging (the K.W.V.) may, at any time but not less than thirty days before the first day of February of any year, with the approval of the Minister, fix, in respect of that year – (a) a minimum price for wine; (b) a quality price for wine; and (c) the percentage of the total quantity of wine purchased or acquired by any wholesaler trader during that year, which such trader shall purchase or acquire at a price which is not less than the price prescribed in sub section (4)." ¹⁴³

¹⁴¹ "Commenting on the News," *Wines and Vines* 25, no. 4 (April 1944): 13.

¹⁴² "Commenting on the News," 13.

¹⁴³ Wine and Spirits Control Amendment Act, 1940, Act No. 23 of 1940, 5 (1), *Statutes of the Union of South Africa 1939-1940* (Cape Town: Government Printer, 1940), 438.

Wholesalers, who, before 1940, could maximise their profits by pushing prices of producers down, were naturally not pleased with this new Act. Especially SFW, having been founded just five years' prior by a man who had already gone through bankruptcy, saw a considerable drop in the potential of their profits.

Ritzema de La Bat, the chairman of the K.W.V. in later years (he also served on the board of the SFW after retiring) still speaks today of how this Act became a pet hate of the SFW.¹⁴⁴

2 5 Shipping: Musical Chairs

A considerable number of historians have produced material concerning the naval routes of the Second World War.¹⁴⁵ Merchant ships travelling between the Allied countries were often some of the largest, carrying inflated loads of cargo amidst wartime pressures. They were of pronounced importance during this time, and were escorted by growing numbers of armed vessels as the war progressed. The *Official History of South African Naval Forces during the Second World War (1939-1945)* by Commander H.R. Gordon-Cumming, offers a relatively concise history of conflict in South African waters. This creates a good backdrop against which the use of merchant ships can be understood.

Despite ample data being available, there are no titles devoted to the shipment of wine during the Second World War. From a South African vantage point, this is without doubt a shortcoming, as the bulk of South African wines are exported today, and are still often done so on routes that were stained into the sea by the overloaded ships of wartime brandies in the 1930s and early 1940s.

In the beginning of 1941, the War still appeared to hold the promise of great prosperity for the South African wine industry. C.W.H. Kohler was possibly tempting fate when he said that "the wine farmers have hardly known there [is] a Great War, as

¹⁴⁴ Ritzema de La Bat, interview with author, August 22, 2016.

¹⁴⁵ Works that have been put to use throughout this thesis: Antony Preston, *An Illustrated History of the Navies of World War II* (London: Hamdon Publishing Group Limited, 1976), 2-220; James L. Kerr, *Touching the adventures of merchantmen in the Second World War* (London: Harrap, 1953), 2-256; David W. Bone, *Merchantman rearmed* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1949), 2-352; W. D. Puleston, *The influence of sea power in World War II* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947), 2-310.

we have not suffered materially.”¹⁴⁶ He also conveyed that, despite the country being vigorously involved in the war, the K.W.V. experienced relative success in 1940. Positivity within the K.W.V. was visible after the proclamation of the Wine and Spirits Control Amendment Act of 1940. Prime Minister Smuts himself spoke of this time as a “time of need” for the K.W.V. in later writing.¹⁴⁷

Further high hopes existed after the exports of 1939. This continued even after the declines brought on by a lack of shipping space in 1940. At the time the slow damp creep of regulatory legislation against the torn flannel trousers of the K.W.V. was not yet felt.

S.L. Croset in 1940 wrote that South Africa was enlarging its portion of the 12 000 000 gallons of wine that arrived in London every year.¹⁴⁸ He also noted that the London Docks could store 20 000 casks of Brandy and 27 000 pipes of wine.¹⁴⁹

By the end of 1940, the year in which Churchill spoke of “riding out the storm of war,” South African harbours were still conducting their duties at a stable pace in a moderate climate. War-essentials had taken up the place of many luxuries, but fruit producers could generally still get their produce abroad. As Great Britain still had wines and brandies in stock when the war broke out, the K.W.V. did not have the same leverage. Wine producers did, however, still extend the vineyards. By 1941 - 1942 vines in the Cape would grow to 130 million.¹⁵⁰

As the war created a need for speedy production of various products, it routed trade relationships within The Union. The supply chain improved in speed and effectivity from the gathering and transport of raw materials to factories, to the manufacturing and transport of finished products to warehouses and harbours. For the chief exporters of wines and brandies, such as the K.W.V., this meant a greater reliance on well-kept relationships across the value chain. Across the sea, its correspondence with offices in London was marked by an anxiety to form better

¹⁴⁶ C.W.H. Kohler, “A New Year Message to the Wine Farmers of South Africa,” *Wine and Spirit* X, no. 122 (January 1941): 4883.

¹⁴⁷ J.C. Smuts, “Foreword,” in Kohler, Charles William Henry, and Annette Joelson. *The memoirs of Kohler of the K.W.V.* (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1946.) n.p.

¹⁴⁸ S.L. Croset, “Storage in London Docks,” *Wine and Spirit* IV, no. 103 (July 1940): 4697.

¹⁴⁹ S.L. Croset, “Storage in London Docks,” 4697.

¹⁵⁰ “The Spectre of Over-production: K.W.V. Faced with solution of Problem,” *Wine and Spirit* XI, no. 124 (January 1942): 5227.

coalitions in order to capitalise on what the war had to offer. The apparent loss of France as a wine producer capable of sending sufficient stocks of wine to Great Britain, seemed to be the first door to open. A second door was the increased requirement of wartime liquors such as brandy. South African wines and brandies intended for exports found themselves split between these two doors.

The K.W.V.'s board of directors were mistakenly confident that the need for liquor in Britain would result in the same prosperity as the need for other war-goods. Their links to the leather industry would undoubtedly further misinform them. South Africa produced about 40 500 brown boots every month during the Second World War, along with 127 000 black boots and an extra 20 000 pairs for the Royal Navy, RAF and various POWs.¹⁵¹

Trade in general seemed healthy. The first months of the war did not reduce the overall imports in the year of 1939. Between 1938 and 1939, while there was indeed a decline in the number of vessels that entered South African harbours from certain countries, the total number of vessels actually increased. American vessels lessened from 82 to 77, German vessels from 120 to 83, Italian Vessels from 54 to 36, and Portuguese vessels from 46 to 32. There was an increase in British vessels from 1381 to 1467, and an increase in Dutch vessels from 111 to 169. The number of Japanese and Scandinavian vessels also increased.¹⁵² In total, the revenue made by South African harbours dropped significantly when the war started from the numbers of 1937 and 1938, but by 1940 still stayed above the revenue made in 1936. In 1940, the revenue made by harbours was £ 1 884 134. In 1938 it was £ 2 073 167.¹⁵³ Similarly, expenditure stayed stable.¹⁵⁴

In contrast with this, Australian newspapers of 1940-1941 were riddled with outcries over inadequate shipping space. South African newspapers, too, talked about the lack of Australian shipping space. A crucial factor that was often overlooked was

¹⁵¹ L.C.T. Turner, H.R. Gordon-Cumming, J.E. Betzler, *War in the Southern Ocean 1939-1945* (Cape Town, London: Oxford University Press, 1961), 335.

¹⁵² Union Office of Census and Statistics, *Official Year Book of the Union No. 21* (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1940), 486.

¹⁵³ Union Office of Census and Statistics, *Official Year Book of the Union No. 22* (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1941), 437.

¹⁵⁴ Union Office of Census and Statistics, *Official Year Book of the Union No. 22*, 437.

the arguably more dangerous geographical position for Australian ships in vulnerable transit.

The year of 1941 held new challenges for South African producers who equipped themselves (expensively) to export. Following the promise of favourable exports in 1939, new cellars were built, vineyards were expanded, more control was given to the K.W.V., and stocks were amassed, awaiting shipment to Great Britain.

Brandy exports to Britain dropped from 83 301 proof gallons in 1940 (a considerable increase from the 7 222 proof gallons in 1938) to 11 895 in the first five months of 1941. The K.W.V. was scrambling to sell the increased supplies and was forced to find other markets. The 51 681 gallons that were sent to the rest of the British Empire in 1938 was increased to a massive 155 729 proof gallons in the first five months of 1941. As mentioned earlier in this thesis, C.W.H. Kohler reported that there were 122 000 proof gallons ready and waiting to be exported.¹⁵⁵ He concluded that the reason for a drop in exports was the shortage of shipping services, as well as import restrictions levied by the British Ministries of Food and Shipping.¹⁵⁶

It was important to portray the figures in a more positive light. Figures were given which showed that the 6 080 cases of brandy that were exported in 1939 became 14 864 in 1940, and that in the first five months of 1941 there were orders placed for 35 613 cases. It was not specified how many of these cases could actually be shipped.

These figures also showed that there were, in fact, more orders for cases of wine, with a number given of 37 429 (one can assume that this included sweet, dry, fortified and sparkling wines).¹⁵⁷

Quantities of orders were, however, not equal to the number of wine products actually shipped. To make matters worse, the profit made on wines and brandies had decreased drastically during wartime. One significant reason for this, which had been predicted in the British House of Commons, was overproduction. In 1939, the exports of wines brought in 267 539 pounds sterling. By 1940, even with the previously mentioned increase in exports, it brought in 165 442 pounds sterling. The K.W.W. was

¹⁵⁵ C.W.H. Kohler, speech transcribed in *Wine and Spirit X*, no. 118 (July 1941): 5069 – 5075.

¹⁵⁶ Kohler, speech (July 1941): 5069.

¹⁵⁷ Kohler, speech (July 1941): 5069.

certainly aware of overproduction, as it published a surplus declaration with rather drastic financial implications in the beginning of 1940.

All of Britain was not blind to the damage that was caused by wine being denied space on ships from South Africa. In October 1941, in the House of Commons, Major Lloyd George, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Food, was asked if he was “aware that ships [had] left Spain, Portugal, South Africa and Australia for this country with empty cargo space which could have been occupied by wine; and whether he [would] arrange for import licences for wine to be available.”¹⁵⁸

George, in his answer, countered that the implementation of such a suggestion “would in all probability lead to the exclusion of more valuable cargo.”¹⁵⁹

2 6 California’s entry in 1941

A popular 9GAG allegory has likened the Second World War to a bar fight. Naturally, this source is by no means original, and takes inspiration from a range of others, including satire created during the war. In such allegories, the U.S.A. is sitting across the street for much of the fight, and is told by his mother to finish his food before running over.¹⁶⁰

In some specific instances, readings of publications in California during wartime may brighten this image. Naturally, one part of the American public found the idea of war appalling. Another faction, however, which would have become dominant in 1941, found the prospect of war enticing. Wine marketers could not help but employ the romantic language of war, as the following quote illustrates:

“And, here and now, *Wines and Vines*, confident of the ultimate great victory that complete solidarity [speaking about the wine drive] will win, pledges every last reinforcement it can send into the battle line.”¹⁶¹

Articles touching on the war in *Wines and Vines* increased in the six months before the U.S.A’s entry in 1941. In California, most wineries promptly aligned

¹⁵⁸ “Wine Imports,” House of Commons, October 2, 1941, (C) 725, *Hansard*, accessed on January 14, 2015, http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1941/oct/02/wine-imports#S5CV0374P0_19411002_HOC_259.

¹⁵⁹ “Wine Imports,” House of Commons, October 2, 1941.

¹⁶⁰ “If World War 2 Was A Bar Fight,” 9GAG, accessed on December 18, 2015, <http://9gag.com/gag/aEwp0Ko/if-world-war-2-was-a-bar-fight>.

¹⁶¹ C.H. van Kriedt, “Wine industry at war?” *Wines and Vines* 20, no. 11 (November 1939): 3.

themselves with the Allies. Italian-American companies such as *Roma* or *Italian Swiss Colony* were no exception. It must be noted that the opinion polls sighted in Klaus P. Fischer's *Hitler and America* showed that most Americans were still against the "public hate campaign" against Germany in 1941 and 1942.¹⁶² Even after Pearl Harbour, 62% of Americans were said to have indicated that the U.S.A. was rather to focus on Japan as the sole enemy. Only 21% of these respondents supported war against Germany.¹⁶³ In Californian wine-related publications, however, there was a relative consensus that Germany represented the foe.

For the time being, the U.S.A.'s spectator view of the war allowed for a more lateral approach to strengthening the Californian wine industry amongst other wartime industries. Coinciding with a renewed focus on domestic consumption (see Chapter One), which in the long run would turn the U.S.A. into the world's greatest consumer of wine, a gap had been created by the loss of French and Algerian wines.

Californian wines did not have to compete as much with South African or Australian wines, as they did not (for the most part) rely on exports to Europe, but rather stayed on routes towards Latin America, the Caribbean, Asia, and French Indo-China (which was the largest market at the time).¹⁶⁴

By 1941, French Indo-China was importing an average of 25 000 gallons of California table wines a month.¹⁶⁵ In Latin America, Chile had become South America's biggest wines and spirits producer.¹⁶⁶

Imports of wine, on the other hand, were the first to "show the effects of the war."¹⁶⁷ There was an 18% decrease on tax payments on Champagne and sparkling wines. Sweet and dry wines took a similar path, with only Sherry from Spain and Port from Portugal showing an increase in imports into the U.S.A. In 1940, these were

¹⁶² Klaus P. Fischer, *Hitler and America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 178.

¹⁶³ Klaus P. Fischer, *Hitler and America*, 178.

¹⁶⁴ "Wine Exports increase," *Wines and Vines* 22, no. 6 (June 1941): 13.

¹⁶⁵ "Wine Exports increase," 13.

¹⁶⁶ Walter Crotch, "Chile Becomes South America's Largest Wine and Spirit Producer: Remarkable and Audacious Bid for World Trade," *Wine and Spirit* XV, no. 107 (August 1940): 4714.

¹⁶⁷ Emmet Dougherty, "Washington wine scene," *Wines and Vines* 22, no 4 (April 1941) 30.

increases of 18.1 and 4.4 per cent respectively. It was also reported that Spain and Portugal were looking into expanding their sparkling wines market.¹⁶⁸

The year 1941 and even the first months of 1942 was still a time of optimism in the Californian wine industry with regard to the war. The first serious mentions in *Wines and Vines* of patriotic citizens joining the war against the Axis powers appeared in May 1941, months before the attack on Pearl Harbour. A small article on the Italian-American wine man, Mero Battistoni, "Called into Uncle Sam's Service," reflected something of the minor representation of the war at the time.¹⁶⁹

The U.S.A.'s eventual own entry into the war was not welcomed by all of its citizens, but was welcomed nevertheless:

"Never in history, until June 7, 1941, had any ship received a double christening. Yet on that eventful day, as the U.S.S. South Dakota, the world's newest and mightiest battleship, slipped down the ways into the waters of the Atlantic, not one but two bottles of champagne were smashed across its bow."¹⁷⁰

One article published in the war years read, "our industry is vulnerable, but winemen will survive the war if they take pride in their business."¹⁷¹ It was also emphasised that the "campaign" for wine had to be continued. The National Wine drive had not been meant to last throughout the war – but rather for three years, starting in 1939.

After December 1941, as some winemen actually joined the war effort, others chose to be as vocal about their efforts while expanding their businesses in the face of danger. From home and away from it, any good work done could become part of the campaign – if presented correctly.

Where there once was an apparent massive consolidated battle for wine sales, there emerged smaller commandos of advertising. Similarly, there were smaller companies which filtered, bottled, and capped their own wines. In the *Wines and Vines*

¹⁶⁸ Dougherty, "Washington wine scene," 30. These figures were issued by Harr L. Lourie, head of the Alcoholic Beverage Importers Association.

¹⁶⁹ "Mero Battistoni Called to Uncle Sam's Service," *Wines and Vines* 22, no. 5 (May 1941): 27. He's uncle was the owner of the Italian and French wine company of Buffalo, New York – the distributors of Roma wines. Mero also worked for the company.

¹⁷⁰ "U.S.S. South Dakota Launched With Double Christening," *Wines and Vines* 22, no. 8 (August 1941): 15.

¹⁷¹ "Let's establish Confidence," *Wines and Vines* 23, no. 3 (March 1942): 8.

these dispersed efforts were still presented as the consolidated wine industries' brave attempts to sell wine in the face of adversity. It was a case of old wine in new war skins.

2 7 On waves: sea, the radio

*"War or no war, the Swiss must have wine on their dinner tables."*¹⁷²

In the entrance-to-the-war-euphoria of in 1941-1942, some American winemen were well in tune with their loud stereotype. William Anthony Bagnani, who was called up to serve in the war, reportedly told his firm that he would soon take over "complete control of the saki production in Japan."¹⁷³

In June 1941, the *Wines and Vines* reported that there had been an increase in exports of wine. In January and February 1941, The United States of America exported a staggering 92,784 gallons of wine. This was 6000 gallons more than the entire year of 1939.¹⁷⁴ 400 000 gallons of wine went to the Caribbean, Latin America and Asia. Wines and Champagnes were also exported to Guatemala, the East Indies, the West Indies, Nicaragua, Venezuela, Egypt, Panama, the Virgin Islands, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, Costa Rica, Mexico and Ecuador.¹⁷⁵

The idea of filling the 'wine gap' in France also seemed very possible: "Exporters informed the wine institute that the Californian wines were welcomed by the French wine-making inhabitants as an entirely satisfactory replacement of the wines of France, cut off by the war."¹⁷⁶

At the start of 1941, one sees articles in the *Wines and Vines* declaring even further growth in exports. Some of the initial fears of all-out war and its no-out consequences would have been stilled. Naturally, there were individuals who thought that the war would close down the wine industry. They would not have been invited to staff lunch at *Wines and Vines*. One article in the *Wines and Vines*, for instance,

¹⁷² K. Arakalian, "Wine Shipped to Switzerland," *Wines and Vines* 21, no. 5 (May 1940): 28.

¹⁷³ "News of Wines and Vines," *Wines and Vines* 23, no. 2 (February 1942): 29.

¹⁷⁴ "Wine Exports increase," *Wines and Vines* 22, no 6 (June 1941): 13.

¹⁷⁵ One company, L.N. Renault & Sons, reportedly exported to all of these destinations.

¹⁷⁶ "Wine Exports Increase," 13.

referred to California as ‘the land of sunshine,’ where hardships had always been overcome by American ingenuity.

Europe seemed like a faint television in another room. In October 1941, the *Wines and Vines* published an article by Franz Sichel (the president of H. Sichel Sons, Inc., New York) entitled, “The Wine Situation in Embattled Europe.” He gave three reasons for the shortage of French wines in wartime. The first reason was the fact that the government had forced wine makers to distil industrial alcohol for the war. Secondly, wines were given to the German army which was occupying France, and was also being sent to Germany itself. The third reason was the lack of skilled labour and resources. French wine producers could not, for example, spray their vines against diseases.¹⁷⁷

The government in occupied France (the Vichy regime) introduced new wine rations for French citizens. Restaurants were only allowed to sell alcoholic beverages within certain hours, and only on certain days of the week, as wine became scarce as a consequence of some of the above mentioned factors. Franz Sichel himself mentioned that a French restaurateur had no problem paying 5000 francs for one hogshead of *Vin Rouge Ordinaire* which he said could be supplied from New York.¹⁷⁸

Before the outbreak of the war, France had been one of the most important exporters of wine and Cognac. If not by volume nor value, it was by tradition. The natural instinct of wine drinkers in England, The U.S.A., or Australia who preferred French wines (in history it is difficult to generalise with such small groups, in this case elites) would not necessarily have been to shift towards Californian wines or South African brandies. One wine trader in New York remarked in October 1941, that the only place from which French wines could still be procured from during the war, was Britain.¹⁷⁹ This was because it had ample supplies and stocks of French wines. These stocks and supplies were also mentioned in the British House of Commons.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁷ Franz Sichel “The Wine Situation in Embattled Europe,” *Wines and Vine* 22, no. 10 (October 1941): 14.

¹⁷⁸ Sichel, “The Wine Situation in Embattled Europe,” 14.

¹⁷⁹ Sichel “The Wine Situation in Embattled Europe,” 14.

¹⁸⁰ “Wine Imports,” House of Commons, October 2, 1941, (C) 725, *Hansard*, accessed on January 14, 2015, http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1941/oct/02/wine-imports#S5CV0374P0_1941100_2_HOC_259.

Much of the shipments by sea happened from the east coast of America. Here on the East Coast, where wine took to the oceans, it also took to radio waves. Naturally, there were radio advertisements for wine across the United States. In New York, the increased consumption of Californian wines, as well as the increased exports thereof, made the decision to invest in radio easier. More than a million bottles of Mission Bell were sold in the New York area in October 1939 (the largest sale ever, at the time). The company started its advertising campaign in September 1939.¹⁸¹

A company such as Roma would be the biggest radio enthusiast in the American wine industry, with its biggest radio show ("Suspense") broadcast predominantly in New York. Gallo was right on its heels with a sponsored newsreel.¹⁸²

"Suspense," of which Alfred Hitchcock was one of the creators, was also sponsored by Roma. Early in 1944, it posted the names of Cary Grant, Alan Ladd, Peter Lorre, Charles Laughton and Robert Young in one of its adverts.¹⁸³ These were big names in radio and in film. One Roma advertisement boasted that the radio programme was mentioned in the *New York World Telegram*; *Pittsburgh Press*; *N.Y. Daily News* and the *N.Y. Daily Mirror*.

It seems strange that an advertisement had been placed in which the success of previous advertisements were declared. In the context of the 1940s, one possible reason for Roma to have placed it would have been to show solidarity with the collective effort to promote Californian wines. This speculation is strengthened by the fact that parts of Roma were being acquired by Schenley, and that the distiller had met a great deal of opposition from the wine producers at the time.¹⁸⁴

With much of Roma having been acquired by the Schenley Distillers Cooperation in 1942 (some of it already in 1938), the company received the capital injection needed for such a Radio show in 1942.

In the first months after the United States had entered the War, the aggressive radio campaign and expenditure in New York came under the spotlight. Advertising laws had become more restrictive, and on radio (where things could be aired live, and

¹⁸¹ "Wine+Radio= Sales," *Wines and Vines* 20, no. 12 (December 1939): 5.

¹⁸² Eric Strutt, "Let's Look at Radio," *Wines and Vines* 23, no. 2 (February 1942): 10

¹⁸³ Roma Wines, advertisement placed in *Wines and Vines* 25, no. 2 (February 1944) 8.

¹⁸⁴ E.B. Wienand, "The Big Four and the Facts," *Wines and Vines* 25, no. 2 (February 1944): 11.

thus not as easily controlled) laws became more restrictive. In some states women were not allowed to be used in wine programmes;¹⁸⁵ in other states, the prices of wines were not allowed to be mentioned, and in some states wine could not be advertised during the daytime.¹⁸⁶

Roma improved its advertising campaigns in print media. In the *Wines and Vines*, for instance, it did a very rare thing by advertising in colour in February 1944. In 1944 most advertisers in this magazine had reverted to black and white as there were considerable shortages of ink. Roma, however, was embarking on an ambitious magazine advertising campaign (including *Colliers*, *Liberty*, “*Pic*,” *Click*, *Life* and *Cosmopolitan*). It thus placed a colour-advertisement declaring that it was about to place a range of other full colour advertisements.

2 8 From Cork to Cap

Some wineries in California were persuaded to start using caps as enclosures (instead of corks) during the Second World War. One reason for this, already noted earlier, was the fact that caps were advertised to wineries as favoured by women. The Anchor Hocking glass corporation, which had increased its advertising enormously as rumours of cork supplies in danger were circulating, placed an advertisement in which two men sat in an office: the younger, more presidential and seated character, dressed in a modern suit, asked the question “How can I package my wines to win more of the feminine market, Mr. Mills?” Mr Mills, an older figure hunched over the desk, replied “By using an attractive cap – easy to remove.” The depiction also claimed that women were increasingly becoming a “vital factor” in the selling of wine.

“What cap? The Anchor Molded [American spelling] Cap, naturally. Its ease of opening and closing is a delight for feminine fingers.”¹⁸⁷

Another reason for increased use of caps was the rise of companies which produced them at more favourable prices. Substantial growth in wartime was enjoyed by these, as their capabilities expanded alongside technological development. It was

¹⁸⁵ Strutt, “Let’s Look at Radio,” 10.

¹⁸⁶ Strutt, “Let’s Look at Radio,” 10.

¹⁸⁷ Anchor Molded Caps, advertisement placed in *Wines and Vines* 24, no. 7 (July 1943): 3.

not all that easy; “At the moment molding compounds are very scarce but we are doing everything possible to assure a continuous flow of Anchor Molded Caps.”¹⁸⁸

Another important reason for their success was the apparent lack of cork supplies during the war. By late 1941, the possibility of a cork shortage was being discussed in numerous publications.¹⁸⁹ Rumours that cork supplies were cut off were met with much unhappiness by cork suppliers in America itself, as they thought this would move business away and toward caps. Cork was, for the most part, imported to the United States. The Office for Emergency Management pointed out that, despite these reports, cork demands were actually being “met in full.” It quoted Robert W. Horton as saying that, as long as Portugal and North Africa did not join the war, cork supplies would not be in danger. Corks were put under general priority control, and some contraction had occurred with the decrease in shipping space, but it was no fatal blow.

At the same time, nonetheless, it is important to note that the Office of Production Management encouraged increased technical studies and development into the use of plastic as a cork substitute.¹⁹⁰

2 9 Let us buy our own wines and brandies, then.

The South African publication, *Wine and Spirit*, in 1943 reported that Californian wine marketers were exhausting avenues of marketing wine as a companion to food to increase domestic consumption. The author of this report believed that in South Africa such marketing would work even better. Furthermore, the article indicated that in 1941 around 26 770 women had written to the Wine Advisory Board in California to request copies of their new *Wine Cook Book*. *Wine and Spirit* wrote that “the magic of wine in cooking gained new impetus throughout the country (the U.S.A.) during 1942.”¹⁹¹ Wine as an inherently healthy beverage was also becoming a more commonplace concept.

As shown in Chapter One, the South African domestic market at the time was more exposed to individual brands of brandy than the kinds of sweet or dry wines the

¹⁸⁸ Anchor Molded Caps, advertisement placed in *Wines and Vines*, 3.

¹⁸⁹ Office for Emergency Management, “Facts on Cork Supplies,” *Wines and Vines* 22, no. 10 (October 1941): 39.

¹⁹⁰ “Facts on Cork Supplies from the Office for Emergency Management,” 39.

¹⁹¹ “Wine Makes Food Taste Better: Only a hint to what WE could do,” *Wine and Spirit* XII, no. 138 (April 1943): 5624.

Wine Advisory Board was promoting. Brandies in South Africa had already been marked with “a key to health,” or “for your health” in the preceding 15 years. Brandy thus became the beneficiary of amplified marketing in South Africa in terms of health during the war, and was encouraged as a golden companion to cooking for the housewife.

Ingrid de Klerk, who has lived in South Africa through the 1940s and cannot recall ever liking dry, sweet or fortified wine in her lifetime, still cooks with brandy today.¹⁹² She does not know if this habit is as a result of the marketing of brandies throughout the war, or if any one brand of brandy was ever better in her Tickey malva pudding.¹⁹³ She is aware of the fact, however, that brandy is easier for her to afford now than it was for her parents in the 1940s.

The affordability of wines and brandies declined as a result of higher duties imposed during the wartime economy. In March 1943, C.W.H. Kohler wrote to the Minister of Finance to point out that the excise on both brandies and spirits had doubled in the preceding eighteen months.¹⁹⁴

Kohler indicated in his letter that he understood this increase to be a war-measure, but that he and his directors were seeking an assurance that “if or when this comes to pass, relief in excise will be afforded to the wine industry...”¹⁹⁵

The fact was that the Government had also subsidised growers of table grapes in the making of more wine. The K.W.V. was legally obliged to accept these wines. It reported in *Wine and Spirit* that this was creating a burden too heavy for it to carry.

To make matters worse, the K.W.V. was being asked to contribute from its own funds for state-organised marketing schemes. Kohler argued that no other agricultural industry was burdened with so much, especially not while being taxed at such a rate.¹⁹⁶

Despite the powers given to the K.W.V. in 1924 and in 1940, Kohler felt there was still some scope for improvement. Especially in 1943, as the war had contributed to the

¹⁹² Ingrid de Klerk, interview with author, April 2016.

¹⁹³ The Tickey refers to a small silver coin put in the pudding to be found by a child. In the 1940s this would have been a 3d coin.

¹⁹⁴ C.W.H. Kohler, letter reprinted in *Wine and Spirit* XII, no.139 (April 1943): 5619.

¹⁹⁵ Kohler, letter (April 1943): 5619.

¹⁹⁶ Kohler, letter (April 1943): 5620.

increased taxation of alcoholic products, the domestic market's importance was yet again highlighted. He noted that there was "no existing legislation on the distributors of South African wines and brandies in the Union to purchase one single gallon of wine or spirit either from farmers or from the Vereniging, nor has the Vereniging the right to sell its alcoholic products except to wholesale licenced dealers who comply with the requirements of Acts Nos 5 of 1924 and 23 of 1940."¹⁹⁷

Dirk de Bruyn replied on behalf of the Minister of Finance, concluding that, "Mr. Hofmeyr does not consider, and it would appear that the directors are of the same opinion, that in present circumstances the proposed increase in excise duty will bear hardly on the producers."¹⁹⁸

The increased taxation did not bear as heavily on the K.W.V. as it would have had the readers of *Wine and Spirit* believe. The increased wine and brandy exports and deliveries to the Allied Forces in 1939 and 1940 saw a total of 114 128 leaguers of wine produced (at 20% strength) in 1940, which grew to 435 736 leaguers in 1942. Brandy consumption in the Union grew 514,419 proof gallons in the first six months of 1916 to 228 7034 proof gallons in 1942 (the highest on record at the time). In 1942 brandy exports amounted to 821 112 proof gallons, with by far the most exported in December.¹⁹⁹

2 10 We need to talk about standardisation

Even the font used in *Wines and Vines* would change for the announcement of the war. This was in December 1941, and possibly a knee jerk reaction before the widespread more altruistic approach: "One of the best methods of aiding the more general usage of wine is seen in the familiar advertising of various individual wineries and the Wine Advisory Board. Now that the need for greater appreciation of wine is most urgent, the industry should increase such promotion in order to start a cycle which will directly aid our war effort."²⁰⁰

Perhaps it was because the United States of America only joined the war at such a late stage, and in outraged response to an attack on its territory – one sees far more

¹⁹⁷ Kohler, letter (April 1943): 5620.

¹⁹⁸ Kohler, letter (April 1943): 5620.

¹⁹⁹ "Statistics on Brandy and Wine," *Wine and Spirit* XII, no. 139 (April 1943): 5625.

²⁰⁰ Donald L. Gilbert, "The Wine Industry – and War," *Wines and Vines* 22, no. 12 (December 1941): 7.

evidence of cooperation from the Californian wine industry than from that of a remote and politically-divided South Africa. By the beginning of 1942, there were many examples of Californian wine growers and wine producers pledging their support; and also advertising the way in which they were downscaling, or standardizing to support the war effort. Standardisation at this point was not yet enforced, but in a very clear contrast with South Africa, it was more fashionable to back the war. One journalist wrote that resolutions, 'break out like a rash around the first of a year.'²⁰¹

As seen under the previous heading, the winegrowers who met in San Francisco pledged their support to the austerity principle of the standardisation of bottles, labels and cartons. It should be kept in mind that this came amidst the *wine drive*, and the immense growth of certain brands in 1939, 1940 and 1941, with much of it having gone alongside more impressive branding. In an old collection of *Wines and Vines*, in 1941 one sees an entire page printed in gold-coloured foil advertising a labelling agency. It might be that all the other examples of such advertisement have been stolen, but none such other exists in this collection between 1938 and 1948. Such opulence would, for the duration of the war, no longer fit in with the status quo.

Possibly the first published example of a call to wartime standardisation from the wine industry had already come in December 1941. George R. Sulkin, who was the sales manager of Grenada Wines at the time, proposed that even wine types ought to be standardised. He argued that consumers were given doubts with regard to the taste, aroma, colour and body of wines. If one could standardise the way a Port tasted, it would cultivate more confidence in the consumer.

Sulkin further suggested that packages would do well to be more uniform. This had already been tested with some whiskey, brandy and rum containers.²⁰² Sulkin believed that the range of wine bottles confused the consumer. Bottle sizes for wine ranged from 2-oz. (just a sip), 4-oz., 8-oz., 12-oz., 12 and three fifths-oz., 16 oz., 24-oz., 25 and three fifths –oz., 32-oz., 48 oz, one half gallon and one full gallon containers.²⁰³ Alongside Sulkin's piece it was reported that the Under-Secretary of Commerce, Wayne C. Taylor, was urging the standardisation of glass containers.

²⁰¹ Dorothy B. Rankin, "Is Mrs Housewife Responsible for Increased Wine Sales?" *Wines and Vines* 23, no. 1 (January 1942): 11.

²⁰² George R. Sulkin, "Uniformity of Standards," *Wines and Vines* 22, no. 12 (December 1941): 15.

²⁰³ Sulkin, "Uniformity of Standards," *Wines and Vines*, 15.

In March 1942, *Wines and Vines* published an article setting out in detail how standardization could take place, and how it could actually have a positive effect on the wine industry.

2 11 “Products of South African Vineyards Gain Favour in the United States”

Between 1940 and 1941, the United States of America imported around 5757 gallons of brandy, 50 gallons of still wine and 408 gallons of liquor from South Africa. By 1942, the amount of liqueurs had doubled, along with wines, while brandies improved by 100%. The U.S.A representatives for the Co-operative Wine Growers’ Association of the Union of South Africa alone brought 50 000 gallons of South African brandy to American shores in 1942. It was reported that these brandies were consumed mostly in the East of the United States. Californian brandies retained most of the market-share on the West Coast.²⁰⁴

The reason for South African brandies’ relative success in this market, according to a report by *Wines and Vines*, was the scarcity of French brandies as a result of the war. Moreover, the K.W.V.’s approach to improving the quality of South African brandies between 1924 and 1928 made its brandies (except for those supplied to the actual war-effort) comparable to some of the most prominent French brands, and even popular brands of Cognac. Some of the South African products that were popular on the East Coast of America were *Good Hope*, *Van der Hum* and *Imperial South African*.²⁰⁵

South African brandies were also doing particularly well in states where the distribution of liquor was placed under full government control. *Wine and Spirit* in South Africa reported with some amusement that, although all liquor stores in the United States had to be Government-licenced, the liquor stores in some states were actually controlled by the government. On 8 October 1942, the Federal Government ordered a cessation in the production of spirituous liquors produced as beverages for the general public. The whiskey that could still be distributed faced an extremely high tax of \$6 a gallon. In November 1942, tax on spirits both imported and produced

²⁰⁴ “Products of South African Vineyards Gain Favour in the United States,” *Wine and Spirit* XII, no. 140 (May 1943): 5644.

²⁰⁵ “Products of South African Vineyards Gain Favour in the United States,” 5644.

locally increased by 40%.²⁰⁶ These figures seemed to point towards the advantages of imports of spirits from abroad. South African exporters were more than willing to be that 'abroad.'

The increased cost of spirits on American shelves would not badly hurt the South African exports of brandy – the lack of much higher priced French brandies and the need for Californian brandies for the war effort meant that South African brandies entered a forgiving market. The National Distillers' Products Corporation of the U.S.A. reported that 76 733 018 gallons of whiskey were produced in 1942. Yet in the previous year it had been 135 166 321 gallons. This was a decline of 43%.²⁰⁷

In contrast with some of the wines that South Africans were exporting to the United States, their brandies and liquors delivered on their promise of good quality. As *Wine and Spirit* quoted a New York City wine-buyer's remark on *Van der Hum* liqueur, "Americans like its spicy orange flavour... It's the nearest thing to Curacao and sells for a dollar less. I can hardly keep it on the shelf."²⁰⁸

2 12 On winning those wining women in California

In January 1942 Dorothy B. Rankin, a self-described home economist for *The Oakland Tribune*, suggested that the increase of California wine sales in 1939, 1940 and 1941 could be attributed to a range of factors. Firstly, the fact that restaurants and hotels could no longer buy as much European wines meant that buyers had to find wines from elsewhere. Californian wines were first to fill this gap. Secondly, the sales of less expensive wines, in bigger sizes (in gallon jugs) were attracting more consumers. Thirdly, individuals who historically bought European wines were now filling up their cellars with Californian products. In the fourth instance, and one that was in the opinion of Rankin quite a small factor, the purchasing of Californian wines for use in homes (for cooking) had steadily increased. The fifth thing mentioned was the advertising programme instigated by the Wine Advisory Board, or the *Wine Drive*.

²⁰⁶ "The Situation in the U.S.A.," *Wine and Spirit* XIII, no. 146. (November 1943): 5825.

²⁰⁷ "The Situation in the U.S.A.," 5825.

²⁰⁸ "Products of South African Vineyards Gain Favour in the United States," 5644.

²⁰⁸ "Products of South African Vineyards Gain Favour in the United States," 5644.

Lastly, she argued that a major factor was the improvement of Californian wines – wine producers were caring for the quality of their wines.²⁰⁹

Rankin was convinced by a patriotic market - because the war was making Americans “fiercely American,” consumers were more likely to buy domestically-produced products.

The deciding factor in the surge of sales was the willingness of women to buy wine: “Frankly, in the last analysis, it’s women who are going to make or break the wine industry.”²¹⁰

Rankin believed that men were not particularly informed about the buying habits of women. For the wine industry was advertising with too much variety, instead of regularity. In her view, “if the wine industry [was] really interested in selling wine to women, then it [was] necessary to think along the lines which women [were] accustomed to following. Rules, recipes, directions, [were] part and parcel of a woman’s life.”²¹¹

Women in 1941 were reportedly spending 85% of a families’ income per year.²¹² For an observer like Dorothy B. Rankin, they were beginning to be too confused by the consumption varieties available. This, alongside language used by advertisers that was difficult for females to understand, would jeopardise effective selling to women.

2 13 Conclusion

Where raisins in California became the saving grace (or grapes) for the unprecedented need for wines in the United States of America in the beginning of the war, raisins in South Africa became a game of hot potato. The K.W.V. unsuccessfully attempted to distance itself from the responsibility of paying bonuses to farmers for their raisins. Some relief came in the form of the *South African Dried Fruit Scheme* in terms of administrative duties, but the K.W.V. was still financially implicated. There was naturally a need for raisins in the war effort, which meant that at least some of the massive stocks could be sent abroad. Nevertheless, in 1944 the 3295 tons of raisins

²⁰⁹ Rankin, “Is Mrs Housewife Responsible for Increased Wine Sales?” *Wines and Vines* 23, no.1 (January 1942): 11.

²¹⁰ Rankin, “Is Mrs Housewife Responsible for Increased Wine Sales?” 11.

²¹¹ Rankin, “Is Mrs Housewife Responsible for Increased Wine Sales?” 11.

²¹² Rankin, “Is Mrs Housewife Responsible for Increased Wine Sales?” 11.

sent to Great Britain from the Union could still not relieve the K.W.V. of the £8000 it had to pay as subsidy for the 1000 tons of raisins supplied to schools. For the legislative power given to it in 1940 had come with arduous responsibilities with regard to dried fruit.²¹³

As the Second World War progressed, the raisins in California were requisitioned for the war effort. This came as a shock, as these raisin varieties were necessary for the replenishing of insufficient stocks of wine as consumption rose. As a result of prohibition, raisin varieties had come to constitute a predominant part of Californian vineyards. This meant that the amount of wine that was being produced in California would inevitably decrease, with grape prices rising as a result. Producers who found loopholes in raisin-nets could sell their grapes at high prices. This caused much unhappiness amongst producers, which contributed to the formation of committees committed to more favourable Californian regulation.

Oceanic shipping was arguably a greater issue in the wine industry of South Africa than in the United States. The first and most apparent reason for this was the fact that producers in the United States, although struggling with over-production in 1938, already had trouble supplying enough wine for the growing market *within* continental America by 1940. In South Africa it had become clear by 1939 that over-production could be fatal to the entire industry if drastic measures with regard to exports were not taken. The years of 1939 and 1940 then saw success in the exports of South African wines and brandies. In 1941, however, the doors that were opened by Great Britain were closed without further notice. Exports of wines and brandies to London almost ceased as containers on ships were allocated to more essential war-goods. At this same time, Californian wines were still fairly comfortable with their export arrangements.

By 1943, producers in South Africa, much as in Australia, had become desperate to get their wines on ships sailing abroad. Markets outside Great Britain were difficult to develop, and it was hoped that by speaking to the right government ministers, exports to London could be re-opened, although other avenues were not wholly abandoned. As we have seen in this chapter, these included efforts to export to the U.S.A.

²¹³ It was often said that General Smuts did have a dry sense of humour.

In the earlier 1940s, there were many examples in the Californian wine magazine *Wine and Vines* of companies linked to the wine industry referring to the importance of female consumers. Along with the efforts of the wine drive, as discussed in Chapter One, this marked a move towards producing wines and brandies in a more gender-specific way. Arguably, this need not imply that the marketing of wine-related products in America was more sophisticated than in South Africa. One has to bear in mind that in the Union many wineries chose *brandies* to serve as their flagship brands, and not wines. If wines were being marketed there to the same extent as in America, it is quite conceivable that the local industry would also have diversified in terms of its target markets. Otherwise, advertisements for brandies in South Africa, even if placed in a publication such as *Die Huisgenoot*, did not show signs of being distinctly tailored for women. Equally clearly, the fact that advertising space was taken up in *Die Huisgenoot* does not mean that they did not appeal to women.

The reason why brandies were advertised more frequently than bottled wines can be explained by a range of factors dispersed throughout the last two chapters. Firstly, after the 1924 legislation was enacted to improve the quality of brandies in South Africa, new facilities were built, some of which were comparable to the best in the world. Subsequently, if such broad statements are permitted, South Africa was really producing very good brandy.

The War saw a change in production methods as a result of improved technology in both South Africa and California. This added to improved bottling and labelling methods, and with individuals such as A.I. Perold involved in South Africa (see the following chapter), also improved knowledge in terms of what was in the bottle. Change was also necessitated by shortages of supplies. The usage of screw cap enclosures would become fashionable, and perhaps falsely advertised as merely an attempt to help women open bottles – and not an attempt to replace diminishing stocks of cork.

In California, there were attempts by wine growers themselves to urge further standardisation of wine bottles and, in some cases, even the standardisation of varieties to streamline production in order to increase more effectively in future. Naturally, the reasons which were publicised was individual Californian wine growers' patriotic desire to aid the United States of America in its fight against Axis tyranny. For this, sacrifices would have to be made. The 2016 Republican U.S. presidential

candidate Donald Trump's recent remarks about the sacrifices he made in Vietnam by building "structures" in New York comes irresistibly to mind. The entrance of the four big distillers just before and during the war contributed to such calibration and, indeed, to increased production after the war.

In South Africa, one does not see anything resembling the same kind of attempts by marketers of wines and brandies to align themselves with the war effort. The Board of the K.W.V. rather chose a more direct practical line to the authorities. In other respects, the proprietors of most wines and brandies did not feel the need to advertise their part or their sacrifices during the war. Two factors played into this position. Firstly, many South Africans viewed the conflict in lukewarm terms, as being less than the shared burden or the collective commitment of all of the Union's people. It was the war in Europe, not a South African concern, and therefore this encouraged a sentiment of neutrality. Furthermore, the country never enjoyed a pro-war consensus – Afrikaner nationalists and pro-Empire Unionists were deeply split over involvement on the Allied side. The U.S.A., having waited longer before weighing into the war, did so in full force.

Secondly, key figures in the South African wine industry were closer than their American counterparts to the governing circles of political power, being personally acquainted with members of both Houses of Parliament. Members of the K.W.V., for instance, were not shy to publicise such connections and even their visits to the homes of parliamentarians, where industry matters were discussed. These circumstances will be investigated in Chapter Four.

CHAPTER 3: War, its people, their machines and its wine

“What is wrong? The trade? Vested interest? Our Impossible liquor legislation? Our... taste for cheap, sweet, nasty Canteen wines?”²¹⁴

3 1 Introduction

This chapter investigates key historical events at the hands of some key-turning people in the wine industry of South Africa during the Second World War. One such person was Marie Furter, who would just have received a mounted key for her 21st birthday when she was forced to take over a farm from her deceased father.

German-speaking people in the winelands, particularly just outside Stellenbosch, will form part of this chapter’s investigation into the range of rootstocks that have been crossed to create a small but persistent South African wine culture.

The tolerance of German culture in South Africa as opposed to the seeming wartime intolerance of it in the U.S.A. will also be discussed. The use of European (German and French) words and area names to market South African and American wines and their validity will be examined, along with other European cultural influences in the production of New World Wines during the 1940s. Cultural roots in South African wines are often surprisingly deep: Leipold suggest, for instance, that the first vine cuttings that arrived in the Cape were from the Rhineland. They were “buried in wet soil and sewn up in sail cloth which was supposed to be kept on the voyage, for that was the common way of sending them.”²¹⁵ Expertise on the planting these wines came from a German man, one whose name has been substituted for memory of the first vintage: February 2, 1659.²¹⁶

This section also includes a discussion of Italian Prisoners of War who were sent to South Africa. The government made provisions to take in as many as possible of these prisoners – why exactly, and to what extent agriculture was a factor in this motive, will be considered. The Italian POWs who were transported by train in the

²¹⁴ J. A. Meyer, ed., “Why not a ‘Wine for South Africa’ Drive?” *Wines and Spirit* IX, no. 99 (December 1939): 4463.

²¹⁵ C. Louis Leipold, *300 years of Cape Wine* (Cape Town: Tafelberg, 1974), 4.

²¹⁶ Leipold, *300 Years of Cape Wine*, 4.

Cape were guarded by the Cape Corps, which consisted of coloured soldiers, in an interesting departure from the Union's segregationist practices.

One of the most impressive works on the subject of Italian POWs is Bob Moore and Kent Fedorowich's *The British Empire and its Italian prisoners of war, 1940-1947*.²¹⁷ Yet, the way in which the South African wine industry reacted to these prisoners remains under-researched. Their contribution to the building of cellars has been remarked upon, but not necessarily in the context of wider investment in infrastructure on farms toward the end of the conflict.

Of further particular importance in this chapter is the plight of labourers during the Second World War. In the context of South Africa it has to be understood against the background of previous observations on prohibition and the "tot"-system.

Also of relevance are some of the battles fought by figures such as C.W.H. Kohler, who, as the war progressed, grew anxious that the South African wine industry would not recover from the conflict's upheavals if the necessary bonds were not formed and preserved with the ruling government.

3 2 Guarding prisoners or watching labourers

There have been many in-depth studies of Italian Prisoners of War during the Second World War.²¹⁸ Some of these mention POWs' in the Western Cape, many of whom were stationed in Worcester.

Even if they are at times mentioned in passing in relation to Western Cape farms, especially where they helped with the building of cellars, walls, assisted with the harvest, or saw to maintenance – accounts of these prisoners seem to have become amalgamated into a shared positive history; one that remembers the Italian POWs' almost entirely as skilled, honourable and friendly European internees. It is doubtful that this was entirely the case.

²¹⁷ Bob Moore and Kent Fedorowich, *The British Empire and its Italian prisoners of war, 1940-1947* (Hampshire: Palgrave, 2002), 1-329.

²¹⁸ Some useful studies include: BALL, J.A., "Italian Prisoners of War in South Africa 1941 – 1947," *Military History Journal* 1, no. 1 (1967) :n.p., accessed June 4, 2016, <http://samilitaryhistory.org/vol011jb.html>; Lt. Col. L. Blumberg, ed., "Italian P.O.W. in South Africa (Medical Services)," *Military History Journal* 1, no. 4 (1969): n.p., accessed June 4, 2016, <http://samilitaryhistory.org/vol014lb.html>.

When the first of the POWs' arrived, they were described as surprisingly young. Moore and Fedorowich cite *The Cape Argus's* account of their arrival, that "most of them were little more than boys. Here and there were some men with Great War ribbons, but the majority were either in their late teens or early twenties."²¹⁹ In itself, this does not necessarily bring into question the image of these prisoners being highly talented and skilful. *Wine and Spirit* even published the amounts farmers had to pay these prisoners if they were sent to a farm. A farmer had to pay a labourer 3s. per week after paying a once-off £1, 19s. for a three month period. The following was part of a list of rules published in *Wine and Spirit*: "...3s. per week shall be paid by the farmer direct to the labourer at the end of each and every week."²²⁰

What counted were other difficult factors. For instance, the arrival of the Italians was met with much unhappiness by trade unions, for they were seen as a "direct threat" to their members' working circumstances.²²¹ There were also mentions of incoming prisoners causing disturbances in towns, with various allegations of bad conduct.

Working as farm labourers also brought with it an interesting dynamic. The guards who were assigned to look after these prisoners were, as noted, mostly from the coloured Cape Corps. Many of its members did not receive lengthy training, but had a rare opportunity as Non-Europeans in the South Africa of the early 1940s to carry weapons in public legally. Corps soldiers often came from labouring backgrounds, and in many cases in the Western Cape, from wine farms.

Being a coloured farm labourer in this period could not, as some of the material in this thesis shows, have been anything other than a downtrodden and demoralising experience in many ways, not least in relation to the enjoyment of ordinary rights and freedoms. Firstly, the way in which alcohol was supplied to coloured and African persons, as shown in Chapter One, was heavily regulated. Then, in article 96 of the Act discussed, it was specified that one was allowed to *give* alcohol to your workers in the Orange Free State, and to farm labourers in the Cape Province.²²² As mentioned

²¹⁹ Moore and Fedorowich, *The British Empire and its Italian prisoners of war*, 54.

²²⁰ "Italian Prisoners-of-war for farm labour," *Wine and Spirit* XI, no. 135 (December 1942): 5559.

²²¹ Moore and Fedorowich, *The British Empire and its Italian prisoners of war*, 54.

²²² "Supply to Natives, Asiatics and Coloured Persons," Act No. 30 of 1928 (94) (c), in *Statutes of the Union of South Africa*, III, 1927-1928 (Cape Town: Government Press, 1928), 540.

earlier, employees in the Cape of Good Hope had to be above 21 to consume alcohol. Only 1.5 pint of unfortified wine or ‘kaffir beer’ could be given to an individual, and it had to be consumed within two hours, and in not less than 3 even parts.²²³ Workers in the Orange Free State had to be a “bona fide” employee; male; above 18; and the alcohol had also to be consumed in front of the employer.

In 1938, the *Verslag van die Kommissie van Ondersoeke Insake die Kaapse Kleurlingbevolking van die Unie* (‘Report of the Commission of Investigations Regarding the Cape Coloured Population of the Union’) showed that 559 coloured men and 260 women were tried in court for selling alcohol to other coloureds in 1935.²²⁴ This was many more than the 190 men and 54 woman who had been tried in the previous decade.²²⁵ Despite an extremely extensive account of offences, specifically placed there to compare different racial groups and the types of crimes they committed, there were no conviction statistics on people of *European* descent selling alcohol to coloured people.

To be in the possession of ‘naturelledrank’ was a criminal offence for which one white woman and two white men were tried in court in 1935. The woman was found guilty.²²⁶ Similarly, small numbers of women of European descent were found guilty for this crime throughout the decade.

The effect of such controlling laws on the perception of people who were not of ‘European descent’ of farmers should not be overlooked. A man who had been born into a farm labourer’s home around 1924 would by 1941 have been acutely aware of the racial and social hierarchy on farms. Suddenly, the war seemed to be upsetting the natural order. To have a weapon placed in such a man’s hand, and to have him oversee young ‘European’ Italians harvesting the grapes that he had harvested just the year before, would possibly have required a serious lack of speculative imagination or else a very good sense of humour.

²²³ “Supply to Natives, Asiatics and Cloured Persons,” 540.

²²⁴ Kommissie van Ondersoeke Insake die Kaapse Kleurlingbevolking, *Verslag* (Pretoria: State Printer, 1938), 286.

²²⁵ Kommissie van Ondersoeke Insake die Kaapse Kleurlingbevolking, *Verslag*, 276

²²⁶ Kommissie van Ondersoeke Insake die Kaapse Kleurlingbevolking, *Verslag*, 281.

3 3 Duitse Hoek

To imagine how the first guarded POWs walked over the Stellenbosch farm property of Muratie on their way to Drie Sprong, the following account by the young Spatz Sperling on his way to first see the farm is of great help:

A second welcome came from a German-speaking lady of advanced age: Annemie Canitz, then still the owner of Muratie with its charming Cape Dutch farm house. “You are now on Hans’ neighbouring farm, so it is not far to your new home in Africa,” were her kind words.²²⁷

One of the first things one is told on arrival at Delheim wine estate today, is that Italian Prisoners of War built the cellars during the Second World War. To some historians this may come as a surprise. After all, Prime Minister Jan Smuts was very anxious about the suitability of farms on which Italian POWs could be put to work. German POWs, for the most part, were not sent to South Africa from North Africa and the Middle East because of the prevailing pro-German sentiments of many Afrikaners, and the geographical links with the former German colony of South West Africa (present-day Namibia).²²⁸ He would thus not have knowingly placed captured Axis troops on a German-owned farm. Drie Sprong had been bought by a German-born man who had been incarcerated as an enemy alien in the Baviaanspoort internment camp during the First World War – Alfred August Hoheisen. The farm was, in fact, part of what was known as “die Duitse Hoek,” with a German neighbour, Paul Canitz, under house-arrest for much of the war and singing Viennese songs in a small room outside his homestead.²²⁹

During the war, Alfred’s son, Hans Otto Hoheisen, planted vines and started making wines with little knowledge and no more than a fleeting interest. His wife, Del, whom he had married in 1939, seemed more concerned about keeping the farm alive. Hans has been remembered in many ways. Sperling, for example, wrote:

²²⁷ Spatz Sperling, *The Memoirs of Spatz Sperling* (Stellenbosch: Muratie, 2005), 19, accessed January 19, 2016, <http://www.delheim.com/downloadable-documents/1-the-memoirs-of-spatz-sperling/file>. Sperling also noted that you had to walk over Muratie to reach Drie Sprong.

²²⁸ Moore and Fedorowich, *The British Empire and its Italian prisoners of war*, 52.

²²⁹ Rijk Melck, interview with author, May 20, 2016.

“Hans Hoheisen was nowhere to be seen. In fact, I was soon to learn that he spent very little time on the farm, leaving it all to Del. Hans spent his days at his home in Cape Town, playing ‘man about town’ with his close friend, Solly Dorfman.”²³⁰

One could imagine that, with the arrival of the Italians, Hans would have been home. He designed the cellar that was to be built with their reputed artisan expertise. That was indeed his forte, growing up in a family of builders. His father made a fortune in the building industry a decade earlier.

Hans Hoheisen later wanted to sell the farm, but Spatz asked that they be given one more chance to turn the farm into a profitable exercise. Hoheisen gave his final contribution (to his own farm) to be administered by his wife and her cousin. The amount was a “final” bi-annual £300 plus a £1500 lump sum. Of this, 50% of any profits that were made, were to be given to Hans. The rest was to be kept by Del and her cousin.

Much like Paul Canitz and his wife, Hans and Del were estranged. Sperling writes that “Her husband had effectively dumped her on the farm, physically and financially.”²³¹

3 4 German Influence

“Do you have a minute for one last question?”

“I will talk to you until my husband comes.”

“You really don’t have to, I...”

“It’s a nice topic.”

“I’m glad. You say you were born in Germany...”

Her husband walks in. I stand up to greet him. “Danie.” he says. “Het jy vir my gesê jy kom?”

“Ek is jammer, ek het sommer net besluit om op te daag. Ek het vir die ontvangsdame gesê om jou nie aan te jaag nie!”

²³⁰ Sperling, *The Memoirs of Spatz Sperling*, 37.

²³¹ Sperling, *The Memoirs of Spatz Sperling*, 203.

“Don’t forget the question,” his wife says before turning to him – “He still has one more question for me.” At that very moment the big clock strikes 12 with a series of unaccommodating bells. The husband sits down on the other side of the table with the sun at his back. I look to my notebook.

“O ja! Last question... thank you... you are obviously German...”

“Yes.” She says.

“Do you find that the South African wine industry has been influenced a lot by the Germans?”

“No.”

“Not at all?”

“No. I don’t think so.”²³²

Some South African wine producers would undoubtedly have shared affinities of various kinds – not only cultural and social but possibly even ideological – with their German counterparts during the wartime 1940s. Or, to put it less euphemistically: a surprising number of South African wine producers in the late-1930s and early-1940s were newly immigrated Germans.²³³

One example was John Graue, owner of one of South Africa’s all-time most successful wine brands, Nederburg. He had bought Nederburg in 1937, the same year in which he emigrated from Germany. Graue, who was born in the Hanseatic city of Bremen²³⁴ had long worked in wine and beer in the Rhineland.

Graue had bought a farm with a long tradition of wine making, and during the Second World War he quickly became one of the biggest wine producers in the Cape, with some distinctly German varietals such as Riesling, the vines of which he imported along with new strains of reportedly the finest Cabernet Sauvignon. He married Ilse Koster, and in 1942 they had a son, Arnold. By 1942, Graue was winning some of the

²³² Danie and Yngvild Steytler, interview with author, June 8, 2016.

²³³ After the effects of the First World War on Germany, particularly after the Treaty of Versailles, many of these immigrants were financially disempowered. Property in South Africa seemed like a good way to re-invest what was left of old wealth, or to try one’s hand at generating wealth anew.

²³⁴ W.A. de Klerk, *The White Wines of South Africa* (Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1967), 29.

major awards at the Cape wine show which had continued throughout the War, and some of the vines from his farm were even being asked for in Britain.²³⁵ Graue brought with him an aptitude for the use of new technology and equipment particularly, with regard to white wine fermentation. This was in line with some important developments in research during and even as a result of the build-up to, and outbreak of, the War.

Later, as some of the dust on global vineyards settled, John Graue, who had in the course of the War in all probability grown weary of South African talent in middle management, left for Germany in search of a new assistant wine maker. W.A. de Klerk, who was a friend of Graue, reported that he enquired in Weinsberg for a young assistant.²³⁶ He asked for a young man “of promise, with a taste of adventure. Willing to come back with him to the Cape.” The result was the much celebrated later winemaker, Günter Brözel, whose link to the wine trade at the time was that he was the son of a cooper.²³⁷

W.A. de Klerk befriended some German wine-makers in the war years. In his book, *The White Wines of South Africa*, he provides an account of his travels in the Cape winelands whilst researching South African white wines. In one poignant moment, he held a conversation in German on Muratie – still today an almost platonic farmstead to any fan of the television series *Heimat* (set in a German town where no episode goes without a scene of massive bustling trees towering over children in a dappled late-summer afternoon):

“I sat on the front stoep of the old house on Muratie with Annemarie Canitz, drinking her Muratie Riesling. The bottle – her own – bore a simple label describing it as such. If Schoongezicht’s white wine was wine without frills, this was a wine in good humour with not a shade of pretentiousness, but completely amiable. ‘Argtig,’ I said in German. Miss Annemarie filled my glass ‘Und Frisch.’ The trees, so profoundly surrounding the house, were raining leaves.”²³⁸

Annemarie inherited the farm from George Paul Canitz, who was born in Leipzig, Germany, and had acquired the property in 1925. Apart from viticulture on Muratie, George started an art school and lectured at the University of Stellenbosch and befriended Professor A.I. Perold, who helped him to plant Muratie’s much celebrated

²³⁵ De Klerk, *The White Wines of South Africa*, 37.

²³⁶ Weinsberg, still today, is a very small town in Germany with a deep rooted wine culture.

²³⁷ De Klerk, *The White Wines of South Africa*, 38.

²³⁸ De Klerk, *The White Wines of South Africa*, 78.

Pinot Noir. As an artist, George reportedly did not have the kind of money to buy a farm – so he painted and sold landscapes to substitute his payments. In this period, most of Muratie’s exports went to Germany. Naturally, as the War broke out, these stopped.

When George died, Annemarie continued to make a name for herself in the winelands. Her wine and her grapes were sought after enthusiastically by SFW. Decades later, in 1987, she contacted Ronnie Melck, who had been a young wine maker for SFW many years prior, and offered the farm to him.²³⁹

As shown, in the early years of the Second World War, German wine brands were commonplace in the Cape. Keeping in mind that South Africa formed part of the Allied effort this was certainly unusual – in California many German and some Italian names of wines and firms were changed as Washington entered the conflict. The following is one of an array of examples from *Wines and Vines*, in March 1942:

“We are speaking as Americans, to Americans, with the customary frankness that makes the American way of life. You are probably aware that the name Seitz is of German origin and it might lead to misunderstanding. To make it clearly evident that our entire personnel and all our efforts are wholly devoted to the patriotic service of our country, we are now operating as [written in a red, white and blue banner] “Republic Filters, INC.” instead of American Seitz filter corporation. As our company becomes absorbed in defense work, civilian requirements will be increasingly hard to meet, but we will, as in the past, do everything possible to help you. The same officers are eager to serve you –the same plant and sales setup continue. You can realise that it is no easy matter for a firm to change its corporate name. But you can make that task, in these times, just a little easier, by noting the new name –REPUBLIC FILTERS, Inc. – in your records... to avoid delay and confusion. We need not tell you how greatly we appreciate your making this change immediately.”

Such drastic ‘re-invention’ was in stark contrast with the increasing number of German brands that emerged in South Africa at this same time.

The Western Cape housed many Germans and German-speaking people (also from South-West Africa). This would continue into the 21st century – today, in 2016, the Western Cape is home to the most German speaking people in South Africa.²⁴⁰ The presence of German-speaking wine makers and merchants does not necessarily reflect any automatic wartime allegiance, but it does help to explain why South African

²³⁹ Rijk Melck, interview with author, May, 20, 2016.

²⁴⁰ “German Restaurants,” Southafrica.net, accessed January 19, 2016, <http://www.southafrica.net/za/en/articles/entry/article-southafrica-net-german-restaurants>.

wine brands continued to advertise ‘Germanically’ as such, and shows that the local commercial market was not gripped by ‘Germanophobia’.

As to why non-German wine-makers in 1941 would have deemed German words fit for wine advertising was that Germany was seen to be one of the *Old World* wine giants. Although Germany had never competed with France in terms of volume, it historically certainly held its own internationally when it came to quality and tradition.

Another factor, which should not be under-emphasised, could have been the widespread reluctance amongst especially Afrikaans-speaking farmers, to support the Allied cause – not necessarily in sympathy with German Nazi ideology (although this was also evident in some cases),²⁴¹ but rather in opposition to any bolstering of the British and their Empire. Pockets of resentment over the outcome of the Anglo-Boer War contributed, amongst other factors, to the formation of the paramilitary Ossewa Brandwag, a militant mass grouping against the British imperial war effort and in support of Germany. It was not a clandestine organisation in the 1940s, with even *Die Matie*, for instance, the student newspaper of the University of Stellenbosch, carrying the OB’s welcoming letter to students in February 1942. In it, it emphasised the need to break all bonds of submission to the outside world (“en verbreking van alle bande tot ondergiskiktheid na buite toe”).²⁴²

Less radically, in a 1940 article about the cultural history of South African wines and wine glasses, *’n Bydrae tot die Kultuurgeskiedenis van die Wynglas*, published in the *Wine and Spirit* in February that year, German influence was underlined approvingly. In fact, it actually quoted, without clarification, in German: “Übervoll trinkt man guten Wein, Jedes Gefäss genügt dem zecher, Doch, soll es mit Wonne getrunken sein, So wünsch ich nur künstlichen, griechischen Becher.”²⁴³

To assume, then, that the Western Cape’s link to German wines might have compromised wartime exports would be to overlook the influence of many other historical factors. The Cape’s exports during the conflict were rather focused on bulk,

²⁴¹ Johan de Klerk, interview with author, March 28, 2016.

²⁴² Gen. Dr. S.J. Pretorius, “Welkom Namens Ossewa-Brandwag,” *Die Matie* 2, no. 2 (February 1942): 3.

²⁴³ “’n Bydrae tot die Kultuurgeskiedenis van die Wynglas,” *Wine and Spirit* IX, no. 101 (February 1940): 4531. This quote was from Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. It refers to the passing of good wine in a bad (artificial) cup.

unlabelled wine – and far more on brandy, which was also used in the war effort. Indeed, it was after the war that there was a renewed focus on the export of bottled wine, particularly with the reinvigorated influence of SFW. The use of German brand names could then have had some negative effect on consumers, especially in Britain, but to confirm a theory such as this would require more research.

3 5 Don't mention the Germans: the fall of an Old World Producer gave rise to the New

“Alas! The growing gravity of the international situation called for an abrupt cancellation of many of these informative trips, and delegates of all nations on Friday scurried home, some being hospitably escorted to the frontier by their German hosts, lest their stay in Germany should become an enforced and prolonged one. As the last French delegates left Bad Kreuznach, the waving population threw flowers into the motor cars and cried enthusiastically “Vive La France!” “No war with France!””²⁴⁴

An unnamed South African correspondent reporting for *Wine and Spirit* during the international wine-fair in Bad Kreuznach is quoted above in the conclusion to an otherwise informative piece regarding the fair, its difficulties and the generosity of the German people. Previous correspondence, published in the same magazine, covered the fair some days before international eyes more visibly narrowed on Germany as it so emotionally and ‘Nationalsozialismusly’ marched into a soon-to-become global war. Apart from his article, very little literature in South Africa or California exists on this wine fair, which came to an abrupt and unplanned ending.²⁴⁵

By the reported size of the fair,²⁴⁶ it seems to have been exceptionally well-funded; with representatives housed from almost every major wine producing country – including the emerging New World. Under Nazi rule in the 1930s, this scope was seen in an array of government-funded drives, especially if it had a lot to compensate for. The Reich Government itself extended the invitation to have the wine congress in

²⁴⁴ Harpers Special Correspondent, “Wine Congress Abandoned,” *Wine and Spirit* IX, no. 98 (November 1939): 4449.

²⁴⁵ The annual Cape Wine show (held in the Old Drill Hall Town – today the public library) South Africa, advertised that its entries would close on September 2, 1939. On account of evidence of the wine show continuing in 1942 and 1943, the 1939 show conceivably took place unaffected as declarations of the war engulfed Europe.

²⁴⁶ It was also reported on in California: Director Guenther, “Programme of the International Viticultural Congress at Bad Kreuznach, Germany,” *Wines and Vines* 20, no. 7-8 (July-August 1939): 12.

Germany.²⁴⁷ Already at the previous year's conference it had been decided that Germany's invitation be accepted. Germany was by no means one of the world's largest wine producers, but it had kept a constant 2% share of global wine production throughout 1865-1874; 1885-1894 and 1900-1909.²⁴⁸ After the First World War, this dropped to 1% as German-filled wine-skins writhed under foreign regulation and were distended with an inferior French product as a consequence of the Treaty of Versailles.

Between 1930 and 1938, however, German wine- making increased under Nazi rule,²⁴⁹ shifting its global share in production back to the pre-Great War times of 2%. Given the relative imbalance in wine production at the time, with France, Italy and Spain dominating with around 82% of wine production this was a significant amount of wine. Portugal, considered one of the major wine producing countries at the time, produced between 2% and 4% between 1865 and 1938. North American and South African wineries produced under 1% respectively in this time.²⁵⁰

Germany's success in the 1930s rested on factors very similar to those of South Africa, particularly in terms of centralisation. All independent wine organisations except the VDNV (Verband Deutscher Naturweinversteigerer) were abolished and replaced by one.²⁵¹ This particular organisation had one president and naturally enjoyed some government funding. It had a striking resemblance to the K.W.V. in terms of structure, except for the fact that it actually improved domestic consumption of wine before the war.

It seemed that, at least before the war, Germany's economic growth had also bolstered its wine industry. A country that had become the forced-fed victim of French wines could regain some pride and right to self-production. Before major losses in vineyards as a result of the First World War Germany had had a total of 90 000 ha (or 220 000 acres) under vines.²⁵² It had long adhered to a culture of quality and not

²⁴⁷ Director Guenther, "Programme of the International Viticultural Congress at Bad Kreuznach, Germany," 12.

²⁴⁸ Kym Anderson and Signe Nelgen, *Global Wine Markets: A Statistical Compendium, 1961-2009* (Adelaide: University of Adelaide Press, 2011) 464.

²⁴⁹ Jancis Robinson, ed., *The Oxford companion to wine* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1994), 440.

²⁵⁰ Anderson and Nelgen, *Global Wine Markets*, 464.

²⁵¹ Robinson, ed., *The Oxford companion to wine*, 440.

²⁵² Robinson, ed., *The Oxford companion to wine*, 439.

quantity, (illuminating a possible theory as to why German domestic consumption went up while South African consumption declined under the rule of a single regulatory state–propped organisation). German wine producers, like those in California and in the Western Cape of South Africa, had suffered strokes from an array of rods (prohibition, centralisation, control), but were bent on establishing themselves as a trend setter in higher quality wines in Europe – typical of the productive German sentiment of the time.

3 6 A new Giant awoke as the Frenchmen dozed

While Paul Canitz walked guests through the Muratie homestead to show them Simonsberg – which he called the sleeping Napoleon – the South African wine industry was experiencing a technological and, in some senses, an industrial awakening. It seemed that the slumber of the French wine industry had given the stepsisters a chance to study at night.

In the case of South Africa, many of these textbook lessons were, in fact German. In a tradition that had already become popular by the early 1900s (with the exception of the 1920s), young viticulturists were sent abroad to Germany, with Abraham Izak Perold being one of the most important examples.²⁵³ Naturally, the other influence of France cannot be ignored, and French heritage in South African wines has obviously been well researched.²⁵⁴

The war saw three very important elements in the South African wine industry come together in increased funding, increased research, and in the entry of innovative entrepreneurs.²⁵⁵ In April 1940, it was reported that Richard Stuttaford, Minister of Trade, Commerce and Industries, spoke of the establishment of an Industrial Development Corporation to “assist the extension of industries in South Africa during the War along sound lines.”²⁵⁶ Although the appropriate scheme was not finalised, at the time the government had already pledged 5 million pounds in support of a

²⁵³ Carl Schultz, interview with author, May 16, 2016.

²⁵⁴ In particular, there have been ample studies concerning the influence of the French Huguenots in the Cape.

²⁵⁵ Especially persons such as Anton Rupert. See Chapter 4.

²⁵⁶ “Millions of industrial development of South Africa: legislation Introduced,” *Wine and Spirit IX*, no. 103 (April 1940): 4579.

corporation.²⁵⁷ The aim was to use the war as a springboard to help to intensify the industrialisation of the Union. The capital would be made available in 1 pound shares. Nine tenths of it was to be made available to the public.²⁵⁸

Mindful of the government's endorsement of expanding industries, the K.W.V. set out to broaden its reach to maximise gain. With minimum pricing for wine, only including 'good wine' in 1940,²⁵⁹ the K.W.V. endorsed production in quantities, rather than reduced volumes of higher quality. Improvements in viticulture and industrial expansion were therefore aimed more at mass-production, with not many farmers able to afford the production of higher quality wines from smaller yields. The K.W.V. also set production limits for wine farmers.²⁶⁰ (This would later help create the gap in which Anton Rupert would introduce higher priced estate wines with Distillers, as will be shown.). The focus on higher quantities and smaller margins meant that the stakes became much higher for producers. Coupled with the instability of the war, even with the constant reassurance of a figure such as Kohler, grape producers could not help feeling uneasy.

During the war, the government had deployed various committees and commissions (with interchangeable and fluid definitions) in reaction to growing anxiety not to let the economy, the environment, or especially public opinion of its conduct, be damaged by the impact of the conflict. A premise in the formation of these committees seemed to be that peacetime would inevitably come. Meanwhile, Pretoria kept its put its foot on the pedal while swerving past the crash that was Europe.

One particular committee, *Die Sosiale en Ekonomiese Planneeraad* (The Social and Economic Planning Council) made an extensive enquiry into the future of farming in South Africa. In 1944, it had already printed the '45 edition of the fourth report. The document came after the Report of the Reconstruction Committee.

In this report, a study was made of the productivity of different nations. Interestingly, and at a very advanced stage of the war, the areas that were chosen for

²⁵⁷ "Millions of industrial development of South Africa: legislation Introduced," 4579.

²⁵⁸ "Millions of industrial development of South Africa: legislation Introduced," 4579.

²⁵⁹ Dave Huges, Phyllis Hands, *New World of Wine from the Cape of Good Hope* (Somerset West: Stephen Phillips, 2001), 19.

²⁶⁰ Barbara Harriss-White, Judith Heyer, *The Comparative Political Economy of Development: Africa and South Asia* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 192.

the study were Britain, Germany, the U.S.A, Argentina, Australia and South Africa. The data, in all probability accumulated in 1938, showed that 7 936 000 hectares of the total 119 493 000 hectares of territory in the Union of South Africa were suitable for farming. This was a mere 6.6%, and compared to the rest on the list it was the second lowest. Germany had 40.7%; The United Kingdom 21.2%; the United States 18%; Argentina 9.1% and Australia 1.7%. These statistics are radically different from those taken more recently, and their historical validity could be contested.²⁶¹

The document also mentioned the 1943 international 'Hot Springs Conference' on Food and Agriculture with some contempt. In South Africa, the trend of moving towards a producing country seemed more important than the idea of South Africa being a cog in the international wheel. Wartime would serve as a springboard to sustainably secure Western Cape farmers as net-exporters. This had already been the case after the 1914-1918 war.²⁶² The *Planneraad* in August 1944 used the following words: "die beleid wat in die Unie Gevolg word Verskil baie van die bogenoemde bevindings van die Hot Springs Konferensie" (the policy that followed in the Union differs greatly with the above findings of the Hot Springs Conference)²⁶³

The conference, held in Hot Springs, Virginia, (in the Homestead Hotel), was called by Franklin Roosevelt, and ran from May 18 to June 3 of 1943. It is peculiar that of the 44 nations that signed the ensuing international act, occupied Poland and France were also included. In its original conception, the conference was declared to have been held for Allied governments.²⁶⁴

The conference was a wartime coalition between agricultural giants and relative heavyweights.²⁶⁵ In the lengthily researched paper, *FAO: its origins, formation and*

²⁶¹ Die Sosiale en Ekonomiese Planneraad, *Die Toekoms van die Boerdery in Suid-Afrika, Met inbegrip van Kommentaar oor die Verslag van die Heropboukomitee*. Verslag No. 4, 1944 (Preoria: State Printer, 1944), 2.

²⁶² Die Sosiale en Ekonomiese Planneraad, *Die Toekoms van die Boerdery in Suid-Afrika*, 4.

²⁶³ Die Sosiale en Ekonomiese Planneraad, *Die Toekoms van die Boerdery in Suid-Afrika*, 4.

²⁶⁴ *Life* reported that there were, in fact, 45 countries (with 510 delegates in total). Source: "Food Conference: Ban on press at Hot Springs gives meeting a comic-opera background," *Life* 14, no. 22 (May 1943): 15.

²⁶⁵ In alphabetical order: Australia; Belgium; Bolivia; Brazil; Canada; Chile; China; Colombia; Costa Rica; Cuba, Czechoslovakia; Denmark (one official reportedly came in his personal capacity); Dominican Republic; Ecuador; Egypt; El Salvador; Ethiopia; France; Great Britain; Greece; Guatemala; Haiti; Honduras; Iceland; India; Iran; Iraq; Liberia; Luxembourg; Mexico; Netherlands; New Zealand, Nicaragua; Norway; Panama; Paraguay; Peru; Philippines; Poland; Union of South Africa; Union of

evolution 1945-1981 by Ralph W. Phillips, it is revealed that Franklin Roosevelt's wife, Eleanor, played a significant role in conceiving this conference to establish the Food and Agricultural Organisation. She had been interested in the draft memorandum on a *United Nations Programme for Freedom from Want of Food*, and had set up a meeting with its author, an Australian called Frank L. McDougall.²⁶⁶ The "United Nations," is described by Phillips as the countries that were then stood against Axis powers during the Second World War, and not to the current structure.²⁶⁷

McDougall was invited to dine at the White House, where he told the President that food could become the common enemy of *United Nations*, after the war.²⁶⁸

While having signed the Act at the Hot Springs Conference, the South African government was not about to compromise on its own agricultural interests and prospective growth. Lists were distributed domestically of imported products that could be produced within South Africa – in smaller and in greater quantities. This formed part of the South African *Beleid van Selfgenoegsaamheid* (policy of self-efficacy).²⁶⁹ Undoubtedly, such a list would have reached Anton Rupert (see Chapter Four), who in September 1943 decided to shift his efforts towards the liquor industry, particularly with regard to vine products.²⁷⁰

It seemed clear, in a fashion that had not been unlike that of Jan Christiaan Smuts in both World Wars, that there would be no compromise on South African development, expansion and self-efficacy. A distinction was also made, already the case in 1939, between *protected* and *unprotected* products. Unprotected included wool, fruit (all sorts), fresh milk, vegetables, poultry, mohair and various others. *Protected* products included corn, meat, processed dairy products, wheat, sugar cane, tobacco, and, very importantly, all vine products (excluding fresh grapes).

Soviet Socialist Republics; United States of America; Uruguay; Venezuela and Yugoslavia. Source: Corporate Services, Human Resources, and Finance Department, "The founding of FAO," *FAO*, accessed November 19, 2015, <http://www.fao.org/docrep/009/p4228e/P4228E04.htm>.

²⁶⁶ Ralph W. Phillips, *FAO: its origins, formation and evolution 1945* (Rome: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, 1981), 4.

²⁶⁷ Phillips, *FAO*, 4.

²⁶⁸ Phillips, *FAO*, 4.

²⁶⁹ Die Sosiale en Ekonomiese Planneraad, *Die Toekoms van die Boerdery in Suid-Afrika*, 4.

²⁷⁰ Dommissie and Esterhuysen, *Anton Rupert*, 86.

During the war, farmers of protected products would have an increased chance to make profit. In fact, the Commission in Matters of Industrial and Agricultural Supplies (*Kommissie in die sake Industriële en landboubenodighede*) calculated that during wartime farmers made up to £5 000 000 per year more as result of various measures that allowed for rising prices. To add to this, the government gave direct aid to farms in the first year of the war, £2 500 000, pushing the additional income to 7500 000.²⁷¹ Domestic consumption of South African goods were also helped by special railway tariffs for produce from within the Union.²⁷²

An Australian newspaper, *The Daily Commercial News and Shipping List*, reported on South Africa's claim that it had become the world's biggest exporter of coal during the war. In 1942, *The Illawarra Mercury* (also an Australian newspaper) reported that South Africa was expanding its industries with organisations such as ISCOR (a new furnace was to be built, which would in 1943 increase the output to twice the amount of 1942).²⁷³

3 7 Death of a Giant

There are many ways in which history can lie. Within the wine industry of South Africa, which Winston Churchill once called the "land of lies,"²⁷⁴ oral history can portray small men as giants, or, possibly a greater evil, portray giants as small men.

In 1926, the German artist mentioned at the start of the previous heading, Paul Canitz, stumbled upon Muratie by accident. In one account, given by his daughter,²⁷⁵ they were on horseback, on their way to a party on nearby Knorhoek at the Van Niekerks.²⁷⁶ At the time, Canitz was a part-time art lecturer at the Stellenbosch university. He taught painting in the Conservatorium of Hans Endler.²⁷⁷ He had also befriended Professor Perold.

²⁷¹ Die Sosiale en Ekonomiese Planneraad, *Die Toekoms van die Boerdery in Suid-Afrika*, 5.

²⁷² Die Sosiale en Ekonomiese Planneraad, *Die Toekoms van die Boerdery in Suid-Afrika*, 6.

²⁷³ "Industrial Expansion in South Africa," *The Illawarra Mercury*, December 4, 1942, n.p.

²⁷⁴ Bill Nasson, e-mail to author, July 29, 2016.

²⁷⁵ W.A. de Klerk, *The White Wines of South Africa* (Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1967), 29.

²⁷⁶ Annemarie Canitz, interview with W.A. de Klerk, in *The White Wines of South Africa* (Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1967), 29.

²⁷⁷ De Klerk, *The White Wines of South Africa*, 78.

As mentioned, Professor Perold helped Paul Canitz to plant Pinot Noir at Muratie, and had even instructed a wine maker, Wynand Viljoen, to look after these vines. The Pinot Noir was imported from France.²⁷⁸ These vineyards, referred to as ‘proefwingerde’ (‘vineyards for testing’) by Scheffer, were looked after on a formidably scientific basis.²⁷⁹

Rumours of Perold’s love for Canitz’s daughter as a motive for the time spent on Muratie are not dismissed by the current owners.²⁸⁰ On this particular farmstead, many such tales lift from the clay into decades of cobweb every time the wind picks up.

Abraham Izak Perold’s death in December 1941 prompted more articles in *Wine and Spirit* than did the war in the month that followed. In January 1942, he was hailed as the ‘modern father of wine-science.’

The contemporary Dean of the Faculty of AgriSciences wrote about Perold’s contribution as a professor at Stellenbosch University. The experimental farm, Welgevallen (1917),²⁸¹ as well as the agricultural building close to Victoria Street,²⁸² were both said to forever stand as monuments to Perold’s vision.²⁸³ Perold was Dean and Head of the faculty of AgriScience from its founding in 1917-18 to 1927.²⁸⁴

Importantly, it was noted that much of Perold’s knowledge was acquired in the time he had spent abroad in European and French North African territories with technologically advanced wine industries.²⁸⁵ It has often been written that he could speak five languages, with German being a prime source of research and even academic writing.

A.J. Hugo wrote a message on behalf of the staff of the K.W.V., “both white and coloured,” in which he spoke of Perold’s time as an employee from 1928 onwards. He

²⁷⁸ Helena Scheffler, “Die Geskiedenis van die Historiese Wynlandgoed Muratie: 1699 – 1991,” D Phil diss., unpublished, 106.

²⁷⁹ Helena Scheffler, “Die Geskiedenis van die Historiese Wynlandgoed Muratie,” 106.

²⁸⁰ Rijk Melck, interview with author, May 20, 2016.

²⁸¹ Although the University became known as ‘Stellenbosch University’ in 1918, this piece of land was acquired already in 1917.

²⁸² Today, the building is situated between Victoria Street and Merriman Avenue.

²⁸³ I. de V. Malherbe, “Dr A.I. Perold as Professor op Stellenbosch,” *Wine and Spirit* XI no. 124 (January 1942): 5219.

²⁸⁴ Malherbe, “Dr A.I. Perold as Professor op Stellenbosch,” 5220.

²⁸⁵ Malherbe, “Dr A.I. Perold as Professor op Stellenbosch,” 5219.

extolled Perold's involvement in the growth of 2 000 leaguers of wine in the cellars in Paarl to an astonishing 100 000 by the time of his death.²⁸⁶

Another message of gratitude was published in that same month, in which some of Perold's humble style was noted. Some of his findings were shown to have been crucial for wines all over the world, even if he himself put it in cautious words. One such discovery was highlighted – when he found that the phylloxera in the vineyards in a certain vineyard had evolved into a new biological race of the pest, he published it first under the title *Untersuchungen ueber Weinessigbakterien* (the author of this message did not deem it necessary to translate this title to “Investigations into Wine Vinegar Bacteria”).

There is little doubt that Perold's career with the K.W.V. further helped to stimulate the movement of mechanisation and technological growth (discussed under the previous heading) of South African wines and brandies in the 1930s, and into the Second World War.

Many years later his great-granddaughter, Helize Perold, recalls that her decision to enter the wine industry was taken after reading about him, and his invention of Pinotage (he is accredited with the crossing of Hermitage and Pinot Noir). The current owners of Muratie believe that Perold thought the best place to plant Pinot Noir was indeed on Muratie, and that the farm *Uitkyk* had, in his opinion, some of the best soil for Hermitage.²⁸⁷ This could also help to explain why Perold had spent so much time especially on Muratie, apart from far-fetched rumours of his affection for the daughter of Paul Canitz.

W.A. de Klerk described a conversation he had had with Paul Canitz's daughter, Annemarie, who remained unmarried when she had inherited the farm Muratie:

“...But daddy worked very hard, and he loved Muratie.”

“Who suggested that he make his own wine here?”

“Dr. Abraham Perold of the K.W.V. You know him?”²⁸⁸

²⁸⁶ A.J. Hugo, “n Kransie op die Graf van Dokter Abraham Izak Perold, B.A., Ph.D.,” *Wine and Spirit* XI no. 124 (January 1942): 5220.

²⁸⁷ Helize Perold, interview via e-mail with author, October 6, 2014.

²⁸⁸ W.A. de Klerk, *The White Wines of South Africa* (Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1967), 79.

3 8 A giant name

As firms in California changed their names to prove just how American they really were (see Chapter Three), *Roma* placed an advertisement declaring that their name meant absolutely nothing. It was just four letters, which were easy to remember.

In an interview with John B. Cella II, it was declared that “the company had the name of Roma, which was the capital of Italy!”²⁸⁹ It was clear that ‘Roma’, as put up on its headquarters or on advertisements for its sponsored radio show, was on its way to becoming a household name by the early 1940s. It would have been difficult to take these four letters off their buildings or concrete tanks.

It was like a giant beanstalk almost three decades in the making. The Cella brothers had come from a wine selling background in Italy to the United States at the beginning of the 20th century. After working in odd jobs, they started selling wines in New York. In 1915, they started buying California wines from the Petri family,²⁹⁰ and called their wine enterprise the Cella Wine Company.

During prohibition, they capitalised from wineries who lost most of their market: “When prohibition started, my uncle went to California and really started to buy wine. My father stayed in New York to sell wine.”²⁹¹ In this time they also bought shares in Roma. Out of the slumber of prohibition they emerged with an enormous market share while also marketing themselves as individuals. In the 1930s they had access to ample wines and brandies, along with good distribution and a willing market. *J.B. Cella Brandy*, which was Roma’s biggest brandy, was one of the two leading brands, along with A.R. Morrow. As one female economist wrote in wartime: “consumers had beaten the footpaths to their doorways.”²⁹² The Roma wine company’s foothold on such paths came with the big personalities of the Cella brothers.

These were the years of travelling salesmen. The Cella brothers, before heading Roma, sold much of their wines by moving from door to door of businesses and

²⁸⁹ John B. Cella, *Interview with Ruth Teiser 1984* (Berkley: University of California, 1986), 31, accessed March 9, 2016 https://archive.org/stream/cellafamilycaliwine00cellrich#page/n17/mode/2up_

²⁹⁰ Headed by Louis Petri, who so much has been written about. He started Allied Grape Growers Cooperative, and also United Vintners, and owned Italian Swiss Colony, Mission Bell, and Petri Wines. He also had the Petri Cigar Company. The Petri and Cella families later married.

²⁹¹ John B. Cella, *Interview with Ruth Teiser*, 3.

²⁹² John B. Cella, *Interview with Ruth Teiser*, 21.

between families in New York. Their most famous salesman, however, would come in the form of an actual giant with an abnormally large business card of six by 10 inches. During the war years, the Roma wine company employed a man described by the *Prescott Evening Courier* of January 19 1942 as “the tallest salesman on earth.” Jacob Reuben “Jack Earle” Erlich was a colossal man (2.324 m) who painted, played in movies, sold lucky rings, did work for the circus, and sold wine. It had been a year since the start of the *Wine Drive*, and newspapers reported on a man described as a walking billboard.

The Roma Wine Company even customized a car to fit Reuben, who, because of his height, was turned down by the army. He worked for the Roma Wine Company in the 1940s and 1950s.

Behind the scenes, the Cella brothers were selling Roma to the distilling giant, Schenley. They had built up their business in California and in New York. “We know that, when we sold, it was the largest winery in the country or in the world, whatever you want to call it... And the other factor, of course, was that we were coming into war time. In fact we were at war. So that became a very serious consideration in view of the fact that we knew that there were restrictions on grapes and use of grapes.”²⁹³ They sold Roma for \$6,400,000.²⁹⁴

According to his nephew, J.B. Cella built some of the first concrete tanks in the U.S.A in the 1930s. These tanks were not lined, and were filled mostly with sweet wines.²⁹⁵ J.B. Cella II remarked on how such tanks were first built and used in French Algeria.²⁹⁶ They could increase the scale of production tremendously.

With the money made from selling to Schenley, the family bought a vineyard called Wahtoke. J.B Cella, however, who had spent the previous many years buying up wine in California, was still at Schenley for some time. He later left to help his brother and his nephew (J.B Cella II) at Cella Vineyards. J.B. Cella later also bought his own vineyard in 1943-1944. It was called Snelling.²⁹⁷ It was American acquisitive

²⁹³ John B. Cella, *Interview with Ruth Teiser*, 21.

²⁹⁴ John B. Cella, *Interview with Ruth Teiser*, 31.

²⁹⁵ According to Ritzema de La Bat, many such tanks were also built in South Africa during the war years. Source: Ritzema de La Bat, interview with author, August 22, 2016.

²⁹⁶ John B. Cella, *Interview with Ruth Teiser*, 11.

²⁹⁷ John B. Cella, *Interview with Ruth Teiser*, 31.

entrepreneurship of a very high order, in which brandy featured, although not in the way it did in South Africa.

3 9 Cape Corps and bad brandy

A number of studies concerning labourers on farms in the Western Cape are available. Historical inquiries into the experience of these labourers in the 1940s, however, rarely feature in literature on the Second World War. In my very limited understanding of the subject, one particular book seems to stand out – for its time, if not for its content – *Coloured, a profile of two million South Africans* by AL J. Venter, published in 1974. The book opens with the following quote by Schopenhauer: “Suffering which falls to our lot in the course of nature, or by chance, or fate, does not seem so painful as suffering which is inflicted on us by the arbitrary will of another.”²⁹⁸

In the 1940s, the majority of farm labourers in the Tulbagh area were illiterate.²⁹⁹ This suggests that most these labourers were dependent on their employers for working out their discretionary wages.³⁰⁰ In stark contrast would have been the wages of Italian POWs, for which a standard was published, and which had to be paid weekly. Male coloured farm labourers were paid 3/6d and 4/6d per day. Women only earned about 5/6d a week. Children helping around the farmstead and in the vineyards were commonplace, and they were paid a daily rate between one and three shillings.³⁰¹ In 1945, black persons who worked for the Divisional Council’s roads section were to be given an increase of 1d per day.³⁰² This reveals not only how low these wages were, but how low they actually were in the minds of the employers, who could easily have raised wages with a third in the course of a meeting.

Venter’s study cites Du Toit in noting that in the 1940s, wage increases were rare. Farmers would rationalise their lack of payments by depicting labourers as drunks, or “slaves to drink.” Increased payments would, in their opinion have resulted in

²⁹⁸ A.L.J. Venter, *Coloured: a profile of two million South Africans*, Human and Rousseau, 1974, Cape Town, n.p.

²⁹⁹ Venter, *Coloured*, 52. The following work is said to have found this: J.B. du Toit, *Plaasarbeiders: a Soliologiese Studie van ’n groep Kleurling-plaasarbeiders in die Distrik Tulbagh*, 1947. No further details are given.

³⁰⁰ Venter, *Coloured*, 52.

³⁰¹ Venter, *Coloured*, 52.

³⁰² Divisional Council of Worcester, minutes taken at meeting of October 17, 1945, 2. Available for viewing at the Cape Town Archives Repository.

increased drinking.³⁰³ It was, therefore, better for employers to substitute such increases with food.

It is important to note that much of this alcohol was supplied by the employers, who often considered their hands to be tied. There were efforts to cut such ropes. In a meeting held in Worcester by the Divisional Council in 1944, one of the members, J.P. De Wet, reported on a meeting he had gone to in Cape Town, in which he had represented the Council. It had been held on the matter of bettering the disposition of Coloured people. In its minutes it was recorded that decisions regarding the following were made: that food would be given to labourers by the farmers; that there would be increased action taken regarding education; that areas would be created in towns where workers could meet up and receive refreshments properly, and that the matter of “geestelike bearbeiders” (‘spiritual workers’) would be looked into.³⁰⁴

Otherwise, the continuing situation was one in which labourers were often virtually held captive in their economic position by alcohol – they remained kept behind glass prison bars filled with wine and spirits.

Coloured farm labourers in permanent employment received a bonus of £1 (sometimes £2 or £3) yearly, if the harvest went well. After harvest, they were also allowed to go on holiday, as Venter noted, this was for “a few days.”³⁰⁵

3 10 Sombrero and Sangria

Especially with California as a case study, there is no shortage of literature regarding labourers in the first half of the 20th century.³⁰⁶ In 1943, there were complaints from farmers across the United States that many farm labourers were called up as soldiers. There was a baseless fear that there would be a labour shortage. In a broad reading of contemporary newspapers, it becomes evident that it was almost fashionable for

³⁰³ Venter, *Coloured*, 52.

³⁰⁴ Divisional Council of Worcester, 2.

³⁰⁵ Venter, *Coloured*, 53.

³⁰⁶ For instance, read: D. Chacon, “Labor Unrest And Industrialized Agriculture In California: The Case Of The 1933 San Joaquin Valley Cotton Strike,” *Ramón Social Science Quarterly* 65, no. 2, (June 1984): 336-353.

school children, women and business men to do some patriotic work in the Californian vineyards to contribute to the war effort.³⁰⁷

Although only 50% of the labour which was used before the war was still able to work in California, it was not seen as problem that would be difficult to solve.³⁰⁸ Much of the solution had been streaming over the border by itself. In California, obviously, there was an increase in Mexican migrants travelling to work on farms. In 1943, there were already 26 000 Mexicans working on farms in the state.³⁰⁹ It was estimated that in 1944 this would become 40 000 Hispanic workers.³¹⁰ An increase in advertisements for Mexican forms of alcohol in this time was increasingly visible in California. Hecker and Co. Inc., for instance, advertised the Ferro Mexican Vermouth.

In July 1943, it was reported that, according to the Federal Department of Agriculture, the grape harvest would not be affected by a loss of labour in a place such as the Sacramento County.³¹¹

In the Lodi area, farmers put up labour camps for migrating labourers. There were camps for women, and even a camp for boy scouts.³¹² These would be filled with temporary labour on Californian wine farms during harvest. In addition to this, "Victory Farm" volunteers were enrolled throughout California to aid farmers who had lost some of their labour force to the war-effort. By the end of 1943, an effective infrastructure had been set up to combat any shortages in labour on wine farms in California.

3 11 Go see the world

If calls for voluntary recruitment in the South African newspapers of 1939 and 1940 were to be believed, the Second World War gave young people the opportunity to go and see the world. Young men who grew up as the children of farm labourers would typically not have had such an opportunity before. War in Europe was a chance to get paid for travelling. It is arguable that in 1940 the war would be seen as such by some

³⁰⁷ "Commenting on the news," *Wines and Vines* 25, no. 3 (March 1944): 9.

³⁰⁸ "Lookout on labor," *wines and vines* 24, no. 7 (July 1943): 11.

³⁰⁹ "Commenting on the news," 9.

³¹⁰ "Commenting on the news," 9.

³¹¹ "Lookout on labor," *wines and vines* 24, no. 7 (July 1943): 11.

³¹² "Lodi area" in "Lookout on labor," *wines and vines* 24, no. 7 (July 1943): 11.

South Africans: the Steytlers' would sell their farm in Victoria-West to go and fight in Italy and in North Africa, with one son even leaving school to do so.³¹³ Under the Smuts government, this 'opportunity' was also extended to coloured people. They, too, would be able to serve their country. Given the fact that so many coloured people had already felt marginalised politically and economically in the 1930s, the idea of serving one's country and of being rewarded for it, would have been appealing to some. 45 783 Coloured men signed up.³¹⁴

Al J. Venter writes about the Cape Corps in impressive detail, and any reader at all interested in its achievements should read chapter 25 of his work, *Coloured: a profile of two million South Africans*. This chapter in particular provides a framework within which the Corps can be examined, and should be a starting point for any historian looking to find which people of the winelands were exported along with its brandy. The legends, for instance, of Private J. Stephens and Private J. Rayners, are included. Their service exploits had an aura of miracles which most well-distilled brandies cannot imitate.

At the same time, the war years saw furious white opposition to coloured men carrying arms. The Ossewa Brandwag took the standpoint that it was not fair that so many white South Africans were being disarmed on home soil (as some suspect citizens were in the war against Germany) whilst 'non-Europeans' were given weapons. It included these sentiments in the 'Black Manifesto' of 1942.³¹⁵

Whatever the outcry, Coloured soldiers were recruited at 2/6d payment per day. This was, in fact, less than the 3/6d – 4/6d a day payment for labourers in Tulbagh, as already mentioned, But the payment of a private did come with a lodging allowance of 2/- a day, while families could also be supported with an additional separation allowance of 1/6d a day.³¹⁶

The Cape Corps on the home front was, as we have noted, assigned to guard Italian POWs, overseeing them as they performed tasks that included the harvesting of vineyards and the building of wine cellars. Meanwhile, another division was serving in

³¹³ Danie Steytler, interview with author, June 8, 2016.

³¹⁴ Venter, *Coloured*, 266.

³¹⁵ Venter, *Coloured*, 258.

³¹⁶ Venter, *Coloured*, 266.

Italy as non-combatant auxiliaries including medical staff, drivers and, later even as musicians.

Not much has been said about the Cape Corps in Italy. A theatre group was formed called the *Crazy Capers*.³¹⁷ In the winter of 1944/1945, they performed musical plays to audiences of Allied troops. These are said to have been placed in Cape Town settings, and included acoustic instruments like banjos' and trombones.³¹⁸ Such recreational events may also have been a Cape encounter with Italian wines.

3 12 Ghost in the Cellar (SA)

If one could pinpoint a *Western Cape Dream* in any way similar to the *American Dream*, it would have been personified by Willam Daniël Furter. In 1940, roughly one year into the frontier-like scurry of South African wine producers to gain from the difficult but opportunity-filled global conflict, a possible hero passed away, leaving behind weeks of obituaries in his wake.

Willam Daniël Furter made a lot of money during the 1920s when a firm called PB Burgoyne & Co Ltd advertised for higher quality South African wines to be sold in London.³¹⁹ At the time he was a reasonably well known and well-to-do distiller. Amongst other factors, the loss of high-end Californian wines had left a gap in what seemed to be a more accessible market than distilled wine. Furter won the tender and re-aligned his cellars to focus on higher quality wines. Some of his vines were even uprooted and replaced with ones of higher quality. It was in this phase that the *Zonnebloem* brand gained some fame domestically. Furter's production increased,³²⁰ and to keep the standard of his wines reasonably high, his cellars needed to become more technologically advanced.

He eventually lost his contract and almost all of his market.³²¹ Stellenbosch Farmers' Winery offered him a new SFW contract, signalling a shift from production for markets abroad to production for the small and ailing domestic market.

³¹⁷ Venter, *Coloured*, 270.

³¹⁸ Venter, *Coloured*, 270.

³¹⁹ Frank, W. Myburg, "Obituary," *Wine and Spirit* IX, no. 101 (February 1940): 4525.

³²⁰ W.A. de Klerk, *White Wines*, 33.

³²¹ Myburg, "Obituary," *Wine and Spirit*, 4525.

As alluded to in an obituary written by Frank Myburgh (another very important figure in war-time South Africa's wine industry; perhaps the only person who received such a list of obituaries by the wine producing community), Furter left a gap in especially the maintenance of his cellar, which was very impressively personalised and mechanised. His daughter, who had just turned 21, was forced to take over from him.³²² Marie was not without talent, but was also not without a well-functioning cellar (with much of her father left in it), racks filled with brass and silver prizes, and her father's loyal friends. Frank Myburgh helped her in the first few months.³²³

In most historical accounts of Marie Furter, the fact that she took over her father's farm during the Second World War is completely overlooked. If the war-time titles of articles in *Wines and Spirits* in 1940 are anything to go by, the wine industry of 1940 was truly no 'place for a woman,' particularly as instability called for 'strength and perseverance.'

By the end of 1940, South African wine producers were looking anxiously abroad to countries that had profited more from soldiers' needs and the fall of France.³²⁴ For the first year of hostilities, the South African wine industry seemed to benefit from international conflict, at least where export quantities were concerned. But the faint smell of small success breathed life into jealous hearts. Increased profits were not yet an American dream. Conversations between producers, very much as in the end of the previous year, had turned to the continuous success of the U.S.A.³²⁵

Not only there, but elsewhere too. It was even reported that Chile had "stepped daringly forward" on the terrain of wine production in the midst of war. This news was received with jealous praise, followed by a string of accounts of producers urging others, and themselves, that South Africa had to do more to claim its share amidst the

³²² W.A. de Klerk, *The White Wines of South Africa* (Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1967), 51.

³²³ Chris Venter, "Die wynmakerfamilie van Zonnebloem, Simondium, 1915-1963," *Historia* 57, no. 2 (2012), n.p., accessed in November 10, 2015, http://www.scielo.org.za/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S0018-229X2012000200007.

³²⁴ George Portman, "Drifting Towards a New Prohibition: the dangers of increased British duties" *Wine and Spirit* IX, no. 103 (April 1940): 4580.

³²⁵ In South America, similarly, the war had created opportunities. Chile was arguably the country which gained the most from the war in terms of wine production. Source: Walter Crotch, "Chile Becomes South America's Largest Wine and Spirit Producer: Remarkable and Audacious Bid for World Trade," *Wine and Spirit* IX, no. 107. (August 1940): 4714.

reshuffling and revolution within the world wine market. Men had to be men as war would be waged for new wine markets.

The K.W.V., having grown accustomed to being men, sought to tackle instability with arguably stifling precautions, masked as masculine resolve. It issued a memorandum in August 1940, emphasising laws and agreements that had been made previously in the year. The following stood out:

“1. No person may make Wine except with the authority of a permit issued by the Vereniging, and no Winegrower or Co-operative Society or Co-operative Company dealing with the products of winegrowers may sell or dispose of any Wine except through or with the consent of the Vereniging. (Contract of sale) No permit to produce “Good Wine” shall be issued to any Winegrower unless the Vereniging is satisfied that he has the available suitable apparatus, cellar accommodation, fustage or tanks, for the making of wine.”

In October 1940, most of the winelands were brought into the fold of the new Wine Control Act (Act 23 of 1940). The law, informed by the circumstances of the war at hand, and by the fact that South Africa’s industrialising wine industry could very well play an important role in it, included some elements very obviously bent on finding new markets within the African continent: The K.W.V was not allowed to sell or deliver table wines for use within the Union, except to wholesalers or registered co-operatives. This would be done at a fixed price.³²⁶ Elsewhere in Africa, though, yet still south of the equator, the K.W.V. was allowed to sell wine below this minimum price. The reason given for this was that the K.W.V. was to be given a competitive advantage. If the K.W.V. could not find wholesalers or co-operatives to buy South African table wines outside the Union, they were obliged to start a company to do so.

The return of the 1940 vintage showed an immense improvement from that of 1939. This was despite a global conflict that was, at first, approached with much fear by South African producers. A total of 32,896,116 gallons now reached 41,388,731. Interestingly, most of the growth came from Paarl and Stellenbosch. In fact, Paarl grew from 40,530 leaguers to 52,485. Stellenbosch grew from 34,876 to 46,031.³²⁷

Increased production was met with a broadened vision, but a stunted global reach. The war’s effect on globalisation had not yet translated into sufficient markets –

³²⁶ S.E. Warrern, “Die Wynbeheer Wet 1940, Deel 3,” *Wine and Spirit* IX, no. 109 (October 1940): 4773.

³²⁷ “Return of Wine Vintage,” *Wine and Spirit* XI, no. 110 (November 1940): 4818 – 4819.

understandably so. The consequence was a daunting surplus of wine products in the Union.

As with the late 1930s, September, October and November in 1940 saw lists of wine awards published. The prizes of the 1940 show, held in the town hall of Paarl, on 9 October 1940,³²⁸ were inevitably linked to a changing wine industry, and a shift in focus was seen with regard to quality versus quantity. Technical brilliance was of overriding importance.

The daughter of a deceased legend, whose cellar had been one known as one of technological innovation, was possibly the most prominent figure at the show: Miss Marie Furter of Zonnebloem Simondium. She had overseen her first harvest without the aid of her father by the age of 21.

Her *Sample A* dry White Wine (which was light bodied and a Hock type) received first prize in class one. In Class 11, for wines made from Green Grape, as well as Class 13, for wines made from Clairette Blanche, she also received the first prizes. In the 10th class, for White French, she received 2nd prize. For her Riesling she received third prize in class 9.

It seems, however, that in this particular competition, red wines were deemed to be of greater importance. The lack of French wines in the global market highlighted the need for higher-quality red wines. In one published list of winners, a reporter commented on how wine farmers would do well to see that some of these were ‘very similar to some of the best European Red wines,’ and that, if the correct varieties were used, South African wines would easily compete internationally.³²⁹ In the red wine categories, the young Miss M. Furter took home the first prize for the light-bodied, red wine. Her rare success across different classes saw her winning the McDonald Cup (for the exhibitor gaining the largest number of points on the show, excluding prizes gained from novice classes); the P.B. Burgoyne Cup (to the exhibitor with the largest number of points for White wines); the W.H. Lategan Cup and the Farmers Weekly Silver medal.³³⁰

³²⁸ This particular show was organized by the Western Province Agricultural Society.

³²⁹ “List of Awards-1940 wine show,” *Wine and Spirit* IX, no. 109 (October 1940): 4804.

³³⁰ “List of Awards-1940 wine show,” *Wine and Spirit*, 4804.

Despite this unprecedented success for a female winemaker in South Africa, little news was made of Miss M. Furter. Perhaps the only distinction made was the fact that other prize-winners were listed by their names, whereas Furter was qualified with a 'Miss.'

The judges, many of whom were friends of Miss Furter's late father, were M.L. Malherbe, F.J. Duminy, J.H. Otto, Paul du Toit, Dr C.J.G. Niehaus, Dr A.I. Perold, W.J. Winshaw, G.N. Maskell, and D. De Wet Theron.³³¹

Furter handed over the vines to a young steel worker from Pretoria who could play the organ, but had never made any wine.³³² John de Villiers, who also married Marie's younger sister, sought to continue a tradition of arguably cutting edge technology, reportedly making a nuisance of himself at the K.W.V., where he often went for advice.³³³

Either he learnt very fast, Marie was an excellent teacher, the cellar worked for itself, or (as Charl Scultz of Hartenberg states), it was *all* in the grapes. By 1943, John was well on his way to becoming the Wine King of the Cape (as he was described in 1946). At the Wine Show of the Western Cape Province Agricultural Society, Lord Killearn, the British Ambassador to Egypt, placed an order for both the red and white wines.³³⁴

After buying the farm and putting his own family crest on the bottles, John also printed "La Main à L'Oeuvre" (the hand that works) on the label. In labour, there was virtue. This was, of course, a rather fashionable train of thought: one that also moved on the rails through the gates of Auschwitz.

3 13 Unsung heroes, Graffiti and the War on Champagne in South Africa

In some of the known works on wine and the Second World War, a prominent theme has emerged of Germans soldiers on (what has literally been described as) a treasure hunt for some of France's most renowned wines.³³⁵ These forces were despatched not only to find and loot famous cellars, but also to establish control over important wine-

³³¹ Catalogue printed in *Wine and Spirit* IX, no. 109 (October 1940): 4803.

³³² W.A. de Klerk, *The White Wines of South Africa* (Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1967), 50.

³³³ W.A. de Klerk, *The White Wines of South Africa*, 50.

³³⁴ W.A. de Klerk, *The White Wines of South Africa*, 51.

³³⁵ Carl Schultz, interview with author, May 16, 2016.

producing areas that would later supply Germany with a sustainable stream of French wine at favourable prices. It has even been suggested that German officials hoarding these wines thought some of these items could also be auctioned to help to pay off the cost of the war, but is difficult to split personal from national agendas in this regard.³³⁶

In South Africa, the fall of France was also seen as an opportunity by some wine-producing individuals. In the four years leading up to World War II, wine producers in the Western Cape felt shackled by the fact that they were no longer able to use French area names to market their wines. German occupation of wine farms therefore gave way to something of a South African occupation of these French names. By 1941, French area names were reintroduced in domestic wine brands. This was done rather unofficially, and with the silent consent of the South African government as well as British wine officials. As mentioned earlier, in 1935, the Union authorities had promised to stop using area names of France on the condition that France increased the import of Cape Lobsters. Out of the two treasures traded, namely Cape Lobster and a word such as *Champagne*, the latter seemed to the K.W.V. to be of far more worth. By 1940, however, considerable parts of the Crawfish Act was repealed by Act 9 of 1940.³³⁷ This held the key to successfully branding the masses of over-produced wines waiting to be shipped to the world's largest Champagne consumer, Britain.³³⁸ As France ceased distribution amidst German control and looting, some South African producers sought to make a profit from it as well.

One less controversial example of profiting from the loss of French products was the increased marketing of K.W.V.'s *Eau de Cologne* in September 1940. The cologne was one of many ideas introduced by a man who has been referred to as *David* or *Davids*. He was an Austrian immigrant who, according to the Paarl-based historian,

³³⁶ In April 1940 an article written by Professor George Portman, Senator of the Gironde, was aptly published with the title "Drifting Towards a New Prohibition. It discussed the harsh proposals of the British Government on the import of French wines at the time. The following quote sums it up: "The British market presents to our people immense perspectives, whether they be in the way of our exports to great Brittan or of the rational organisation of our wines for the English and Dominion troops fighting side by side with our own on French soil." Source: George Portman, "Drifting Towards a New Prohibition: the dangers of increased British duties," *Wine and Spirit* VIII, no. 104 (April 1940), 4580.

³³⁷ "Crawfish Export Control Amendment Act, 1940, Act No. 9 of 1940," *The Statutes of the Union of South Africa 1939-1940* (Cape Town: Government Press), 38-42.

³³⁸ In 1940, it was reported by Léon Douarche that Great Britain was the largest consumer of sparkling wines in the world. Source: Léon Douarche "Great Britain's Wine Imports: Empire Supplies 38 per cent. of Total," *Wine and Spirit* VIII, no. 100. (January 1940): 4510.

Charles Press, was the unsung (and misnamed) hero of the K.W.V. in the war-years.³³⁹ In a display at the K.W.V. archives, it is shown that this Cologne was instigated in 1933 by the brandy master at the time. By the 1950s, he was being referred to as the Moses of the K.W.V.³⁴⁰ While the *Eau de Cologne* went on to become a considerable success,³⁴¹ the use of French area names and their endless potential – the bush that could not be consumed – backfired.

It is clear in the speeches and remarks made by C.W.H. Kohler in 1940 and 1941 that there was a very strong prospect of adopting these names as the war in Europe continued. Owing to the wartime relationship between the K.W.V. and the government, such remarks can easily be deemed to have carried considerable weight in the winelands. Friendly letters between Kohler and General Smuts were, for instance, published in *Wine and Spirits* in an attempt to encourage a spirit of optimism amidst wartime instabilities. This included the actual expansion of vineyards; the increased investment in cellars as well as possibly more risqué branding (in contrast with Californian wineries, which in this time adopted standardisation, as shown in Chapter Two). A brand like Monis could therefore freely advertise a *Champagne* in 1941, albeit only on the magazine advertisement itself, and not yet on the bottle. This was in contrast to California, where in 1941, the front page of the December issue of *Wines and Vines* showed a bottle of *California* Burgundy. To French wine merchants and producers, some of whom tenaciously buried their cellars; even though France had fallen, the advertising of South African Champagne had not gone unnoticed.³⁴² The Managing Director of *Courvoisier Limited* in 1943, George Simon, complained by letter to Kohler, a copy of which was also sent to the *Cape Times*. He kept an eye on such matters, even though he was a refugee in England.

In this letter, Simon started off by stating that he had kindly hosted Kohler and two of his colleagues in France some years previously and remarked how complimentary Kohler had been of Simon's cellars. Simon seemed to feel deeply betrayed by news of Kohler's attempts to reclaim the rights to French area names. In 1942, the K.W.V.

³³⁹ Charles Press, interview with author, June 19, 2016.

³⁴⁰ Charles Press, interview with author, June 19, 2016.

³⁴¹ By the 1960s, it changed to *Cologne 24* and had the distinct smell of rum.

³⁴² Consider the following quote, for instance. "Even though guns were firing, the French people were bringing in the crops, and this surprised me." Source: "D-Day to Germany, 1944," US national Archives YouTube page, accessed January 8, 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fJVaa0RAUGg>.

made it clear that it would further contest the decision taken in 1935 to stop using French area names. Kohler, in a speech that was also printed in the *Cape Times* in July 1942, claimed that the K.W.V. had been asked by the Australian Wine Board to fight for the cause of using words like Champagne and Burgundy, which were declared to be English words. A clearly upset Simon concluded that:

“Leaving on one side all legal and moral considerations, instead of usurping a name long closely protected in the interests of the producer and consumer alike, it would be more soundly commercial, if perhaps more costly at the outset, for the Co-operative Wine Growers’ Association of South Africa, Ltd., to adopt for their best quality sparkling wine a suitable name, either native Dutch or English, of which there must be an extensive choice, descriptive of the place of production.”³⁴³

Kohler was not enthralled by this, and it is perhaps apt that there was a massive fire in the K.W.V. close to the time of him encountering Simon’s views in 1943. He responded vigorously:

“In his letter to me, and in one he has addressed to you, Mr. George Simon is far from courteous, and he will not evoke the sympathy he might have gained had he not accused me of public distortion of facts...Mr Simon, no doubt, is alarmed by the fact that South Africa has appeared on the wine map of the world, as a wine and brandy making country, and that Australia is supporting us in the matter of our claim to the use of generic names such as champagne, port, and sherry, for our wines.”³⁴⁴

In typical Kohler-fashion, the full reply was lengthy and repetitive. It concluded with a shameless call to authority: “In the meantime sub-section (1) of section 4 of Act 55 of 1935 provides that the minister of Agriculture and Forestry may in his discretion withdraw or amend any notice issued in terms of this sub section... Let the Minister now amend it on the lines we have suggested.”³⁴⁵

Some months later, the increased use of the Afrikaans word *Sjampanje* became visible in adverts. One wonders, however, whether Simon’s idea of a *native* term would not, in the long run, have been more sustainable. In an interview conducted at Hartenberg wine estate in 2016, the celebrated winemaker, Carl Schultz, voiced the idea that promoting South African wines to non-Europeans domestically would have been a more sustainable option during and after World War II.

³⁴³ C.W.H. Kohler, letter reprinted in “Champagne Bubbles,” *Wine and Spirit* XIII, No. 137 (February 1943): 5588.

³⁴⁴ Kohler, letter, 5588.

³⁴⁵ Kohler, letter, 5591.

But for Kohler, this particular conflict was more than Churchill's "Fight for Champagne."³⁴⁶ It was the tip of an iceberg of a conflict-ridden two years. He had kept the South African wine industry's head above water, but not without ceaseless manoeuvring. In Kohler existed the driving force that the Australian Wine Board lacked: one with the connections to keep South African wines and brandies on ships leaving for England. From the outset of the War, Australian wines were not granted this opportunity. The K.W.V. was truly "a lobbying machine."³⁴⁷

In the first two years of the conflict, Kohler seemed in far better spirits than in late 1941, even though, as some one report would claim, the K.W.V. was supplying totally inferior and even dangerous spirits for the war effort.³⁴⁸ These reports were nervously denied – the K.W.V., without much exposure of it, was producing and sending enormous quantities of this brandy abroad. A termination of this agreement, given the size of the orders, would have been a grave blow to its operations. South African brandies were often referred to as "ish" by Allied forces during the Second World War.³⁴⁹

C.W.H. Kohler's reputation was maintained especially by the *Wines and Spirits*. There are countless references of him as "*Onse Voorsitter*". As Charles Press puts it, this high esteem for Kohler was by no means without merit. He had been a prominent figure even in the very early 1900s. In 1906, for instance, the South African *Jewish Chronicle* had reported his brave remarks in a town meeting in Paarl, where he stood fast in his call for intervention into the maltreatment of Jewish people in Russia.³⁵⁰

In February 1941, amidst cries for a better capitalisation of the wartime situation, the first sheet music of a 'Wine-song,' was published. One needs to take into account the fact that France ceased shipments of wine, and that South Africa's capitalisation during the war had been, for some producers, not nearly enough. It was felt that the South African climate and terroir was at least as good as that of France, and that

³⁴⁶ Gyles Brandreth, *Oxford Dictionary of Humorous Quotations* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2013), 47.

³⁴⁷ To yet again quote Ritzema de La Bat. Source: Ritzema de La Bat, interview with author, August 22, 2016.

³⁴⁸ This referred to *Cape Smoke*, which, even in writings by André P. Brink was assumed to be a lower quality brandy, not fit for polite conversation. Source: André P. Brink, *Brandy in South Africa* (Cape Town: Buren. 1973), 112.

³⁴⁹ C.W.H. Kohler, "Chairman's Speech," *Wine and Spirit* XV, no. 178 (July 1946): 6697.

³⁵⁰ Charles Press, interview with author, June 19, 2016.

South Africa could even in future take up its place as one of the world's top producers. For one enthusiastic wine writer, "the wine industry [had to] proclaim the truth from housetops incessantly, in season and out of season, until the somnolent public [began] to awaken to the fact about wine."³⁵¹

The song was dedicated to *Onse Voorsitter* C.W.H. Kohler. It was composed by Hans Endler, (words and Music) and translated into Afrikaans by Dr. A.C. Celliers.

The English lyrics were as follows:

"When afflicted with worry/ sadness of heart/ or when fickle prosperity goes / when we tire of the burden of playing our part/ there is one certain cure for our woes / it is the glorious wine God has given / to enliven our hearts with good cheer/ And so away all depression is driven / and forgotten in joy every tear."³⁵²

There are no records of it being bellowed from rooftops, as a previous quote would have it. One may, however, find a very similar tune written on the much graffitied wall of the Kneipzimmer on the farm Muratie. Hans Endler himself, who was born in Mohrau, in Austrian Bohemia, also wrote a small operetta about Vienna over which the German born Paul Canitz painted one of his many nude women. Even though much of the detail has been lost over the years, there is still a striking resemblance between the operetta and the wine song, as there is a striking resemblance between the woman and Canitz's mistress, whom he had almost always painted nude. The date written on the wall next to it is 1938.

Although the wine song was not well-known, the writing did seem to be on the wall for C.W.H. Kohler by 1941, albeit only for a few brief months, before trust in him was again reinstated (as will be shown). After the two mentioned years of prosperity as a principal market, Britain – the world's greatest champagne consumer, and indeed also the greatest consumer of South African wines – had put a stop to most of its imports from South Africa. What made this disastrous was the fact that the K.W.V. oversaw a rapid expansion of vineyards in 1939 and 1940 to keep up with the need for distilled wines. A small drop could have massive consequences. Kohler himself reported that the 1 780 593 gallons of wine that were exported to Great Britain in 1939 (a considerable increase from the 1 339 545 in 1938) had dropped to 1 102 991 in 1940,

³⁵¹ Terence P. O'Donoghue, "Creating a Demand for Cape Wine in our own country: Vast Potential Market Remains Unexploited – Nation-wide Propaganda Drive Essential," *Wine and Spirit* VIII, no. 100 (January 1940): 4506.

³⁵² Also see Addendum A for a sample of the sheet music.

and to zero gallons in the first five months of 1941.³⁵³ What made this more frustrating was the large order for South African brandies and wines from Britain (not for the war-effort, and generally not low quality *Cape Smoke*), which for the time being were not allowed to be shipped anymore, as discussed in Chapter Two.³⁵⁴

As Churchill so aptly said, “when you’re going through Hell, keep going.” By 1942 it could be seen that the K.W.V. had regained much of the trust – if not the profits – it had lost. One saw the advertising of “Sjampanje” from around 1943, which was no doubt a concession made despite adverse publicity in the *Cape Times*, and only because the war had forced local producers to look more towards the domestic market.

By the end of 1942, titles of articles written about Kohler again referred to “Our Chairman,” recounting the arguably much regurgitated victories of the Cape’s “most unsung hero.” Kohler, however, was a man of great age, and this began to show: “Few men who undertake a work of national importance live long enough to see the fruits of their labour, let alone to taste them, and in successfully organising during his lifetime the wine industry of South Africa, and endeavouring to make it economically stable and sound.”³⁵⁵

The publications of *Wine and Spirits* of the later war years showed many pictures of Kohler on a victory lap, posing with the likes of dukes and duchesses, princes and princesses, and perhaps most importantly, with Afrikaans South African politicians, most of whom he reportedly impressed. The face of the K.W.V. was a social one, and one that could even, as Kohler himself said in 1940, meet a world war without pessimism.³⁵⁶

If Kohler, by the end of the war at the age of 83, had suffered loss of hearing, he could at least dance to the tune in his own head; one that was no doubt similar to Endler’s operetta of drunken nights in Vienna, and possibly at the hand of the finest South African Champagne. In 1945, Kohler was described brightly by the Minister of

³⁵³ C.W.H. Kohler, speech transcribed in *Wine and Spirit X*, no. 118 (July 1941): 5069.

³⁵⁴ These were wines, and not brandies. Source: Speech delivered by C.W.H. Kohler, printed in *Wine and Spirit X*, no. 118 (July 1941): 5069, 5075.

³⁵⁵ J.F. Knott Craig, “Onse Voorsitter – Our Chairman Mr. Charles William Henry Kohler and his Work for this Wine Industry of South Africa,” *Wine and Spirits*, XI, 133 (October 1942): 5475.

³⁵⁶ C.W.H. Kohler, “n Nuwejaar Boodskap aan die Wynboere van Suid –Afrika,” *Wines and Spirit IX*, no. 100 (January 1940): 4489.

Agriculture as a man with “veerkragtigheid, na liggaam en intellek” (springiness of body and intellect).³⁵⁷

3 14 Fellowship of the ring: A Deputation goes to Johannesburg

By January 1942, it had become clear that the South African wine industry was not benefitting from the Second World War as much as wines in the United States of America. One crucial reason for this was the fact that in South Africa the demand for wines and brandies had not yet surpassed suppliers' stocks. Cases were being piled up in anticipation of increased sales, made worse by orders placed by the British, which had not yet been shipped or paid for. Vines were being planted in excess, and the Secretary for Agriculture and Forestry noted with alarm in 1942 that the number of vines in the Cape had grown to 130 million.³⁵⁸ Taking into account that in 1932 there were only 89 million vines, and that by the time that war broke out in 1939 there were 124 million vines,³⁵⁹ it seemed that the pace of extending vineyards could not easily be stopped by the outbreak and uncertainty of war – and that the war even brought with it some hope that South African wines would be needed more as European producers fell under the impact of hostilities. The harvesting and pressing of grapes, along with its own capital investment, had picked up too much speed to be stopped by an uncertain future. In 1940, there were a reported 309 000 leaguers of wine flushed into cellars where the 270 000 leaguers of 1939 had barely been cleared.³⁶⁰

Kohler wrote an editorial for the *Wine and Spirit* in which he observed that wine farmers had not yet benefited from the upsurge of prices as a result of the war in the same way as farmers of other produce. Farmers, in his words had to be “content to accept a lower price than in previous years.”³⁶¹ Similarly, they had to be content with

³⁵⁷ “Die Minister van Landbou besoek die K.W.V.,” *Wines and Spirits* XIV, no. 162 (April 1945): 6211.

³⁵⁸ “The Spectre of Over-production: K.W.V. Faced with solution of Problem,” *Wine and Spirit* XI, no. 124 (January 1942): 5227.

³⁵⁹ “The Spectre of Over-production: K.W.V. Faced with solution of Problem,” 5227.

³⁶⁰ Figures attributed to the annual survey of Agriculture in South Africa 1941, printed in “The Spectre of Over-production: K.W.V. Faced with solution of Problem,” 5227.

³⁶¹ C.W.H. Kohler, “A New Year Message to the Wine Farmers of South Africa,” *Wine and Spirit* XI, no. 124 (January 1942): 5223.

his hopes for the coming year: "I see no reason why we should have a worse year in 1942 than we have had in 1941."³⁶²

Members of the K.W.V., C.W.H. Kohler, H.F. Theron and one other unnamed manager visited Pretoria and Johannesburg late in 1941 to bring some of the co-operative's qualms to the attention of some key ministers.³⁶³ The first reported visit was to the Minister of Commerce and Industries, Richard Stuttaford. The issue raised with Stuttaford was the problem of exports during 1941. It was alleged, erroneously, that "not one single drop of wine, brandy or *moskonfyt* had been shipped to Great Britain" in that year.³⁶⁴ A major concern voiced by the deputation, was that this would take South African products off British shelves and make way for products from elsewhere in the empire. These local products had been laboriously positioned in British markets in the decade leading up to the war. This particular qualm serves as a good example of how the war was seen as an opportunity to increase the exports of produce. Conversely, this same opening could also bring on a long-term decrease in exports if not used correctly.

The deputation expressed its understanding that a lack of shipping space was primarily because of the space taken up by essential war-goods. It asked the Minister that if "owing to some hitch or other space booked for essential cargo" was left available, the K.W.V. could not place wines and brandies in its space.³⁶⁵ For this to happen, however, British measures during wartime would also have to be revised. The Deputation believed that it was indeed a good time for Pretoria to approach London with regard to its shipping regulations, as Britain was in need of liquor, especially from the rest of the empire. According to the chairman of a meeting held in Robertson in December 1941, Stuttaford assured the K.W.V. that he would approach the Union's High Commissioner in London without delay.³⁶⁶

Some other troublesome issues were brought to the attention of Richard Stuttaford. Firstly, unhappiness was expressed about some of the Crown Colonies

³⁶² Kohler, "A New Year Message to the Wine Farmers of South Africa," 5223.

³⁶³ C.W.H. Kohler, "Notes from the Chairman's Speech, Robertson Congress, 6th December 1941," *Wine and Spirit* XI, no. 124 (January 1942): 5228.

³⁶⁴ Kohler, "Notes from the Chairman's Speech," 5228.

³⁶⁵ Kohler, "Notes from the Chairman's Speech," 5228.

³⁶⁶ Kohler, "Notes from the Chairman's Speech," 5229.

which had also stopped imports of South African wines, despite, according to the K.W.V. deputation, there being ample shipping space available for wine. Secondly, there was fear that bulk exports to East Africa would cease, as bottling plants there were delivering goods of poor quality. The K.W.V. felt that stopping such exports would be, as it put it, 'unwise.'³⁶⁷ A third issue was the number of loopholes that existed in the regulation of bottles (of which a shortage existed), which meant that some bottlers were being unfairly advantaged.

It has been mentioned elsewhere in this thesis that producers used a range of bottles during the war. In Tulbagh, for example, the use of tomato sauce bottles, and in Stellenbosch the use of beer bottles were reported.

Domestically, the sales of brandies were higher during the war, and merchants who traded within South Africa needed bottles. The K.W.V. informed those attending its Robertson meeting that some of these merchants had asked the co-operative to help them with the import of bottles from Britain. At the time, there were orders for 150 000 units. This constituted the entire cargo space of two ships roughly the size of the large cargo vessel, the *Cape Town Castle*. This would, however, not nearly be enough for domestic need. The K.W.V. was informed by Pretoria that the authorities would assist in the finding of new import avenues for bottles.

The K.W.V. also requested members to sell used brandy bottles to the organisation. Compensation for these would be 2s 6d per dozen reputed quarts, 2s. for a dozen pints and 1s 6d. for a dozen nips.³⁶⁸ Members were also encouraged to return bottles from other merchants to their original source. This would make it easier for brands to maintain the form of their bottles and possibly even their labels.

The next visit of the deputation was to the Minister of Justice. Its chief query with him was the Tied-House system. The view of its members was that it was detrimental to the tourism industry, as it made it more difficult for hotels to have stocks of alcohol. Other matters raised with the Justice Ministry concerned the book-keeping and stock-taking of wine farmers.

Such matters could possibly have waited for the Minister of Finance, which was the next meeting reported on. As a long-shot, the K.W.V. asked Hofmeyr if the

³⁶⁷ Kohler, "Notes from the Chairman's Speech," 5229.

³⁶⁸ Kohler, "Notes from the Chairman's Speech," 5229.

government could give it one-sixth of the duty gained from the excise on brandies. The Minister agreed to consider the proposal after the K.W.V. had taken it to the Wine Commission in Cape Town.

The meeting which the deputation reported to have been the most important, was one held with the Minister of Agriculture, Colonel William Collins. The first matter discussed was some inconsistencies in Act No. 23 of 1940, which was said to have been resolved to be coherent with the K.W.V.'s interpretation of it.³⁶⁹ A second issue raised was the growth of bacterial blight on vines. Collins promised that the matter would be attended to.³⁷⁰

The reported most important issue raised with Collins was that of over-production. The K.W.V. proposed a scheme to limit production further, which the Minister accepted.

The government Gazette of 5 December 1941 published the scheme set out by the K.W.V. for the limitation of wine, informed and accepted by the K.W.V. and the Minister of Agriculture and Forestry. This stipulated that the K.W.V. could fix the quantities of good wines and distilling wines that a farmer was allowed to produce.

Members of the K.W.V. at the meeting in Robertson were each given a copy of the scheme. It served not only as guideline of the K.W.V.'s new authority, but also as a testament to its efforts and with its travelling expenses portrayed as nothing short of an epic quest to the Transvaal. The title of J.R.R. Tolkien's book, *The Hobbit, or, There and Back Again* comes to mind, in which Gandalf is almost portrayed as a less-present C.W.H. Kohler.³⁷¹

3 15 Conclusion

Chapter Three has suggested that the authority given to the Cape Corps over the Italian POWs calls for an expanding of our understanding of race relations at the time. The complexity of a political figure such as Jan Smuts should not be allowed to fall victim to historical reductionism. Secondary literature has also made the blanket claim that Smuts did not want Italian POWs to come into contact with South Africans who

³⁶⁹ Kohler, "Notes from the Chariman's Speech," 5235.

³⁷⁰ Kohler, "Notes from the Chariman's Speech," 5235.

³⁷¹ J. R. R. Tolkien, *The hobbit, or, There and back again* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin. 1984), 2-300.

shared political views or favourable sentiments with Axis powers. Their presence in the Cape winelands, particularly on German-owned farms, casts doubt over his reported anxiety over such farmers. The blatant acts of displaying German culture, the emergence of German wine brands or the founding of a Worcester estate such as *Lebensraum*, for instance, underlines the idea that the Government indeed had a soft spot for the wine industry, which in turn had some members who had a soft spot for certain Axis countries. The fond (and arguably misinformed) memory of the Italian POWs in the Cape further buttresses this point.

This chapter has also attempted to prove that German culture continued to have a profound effect on wines in South Africa during the Second World War. It has also suggested that, at the time of the war, Germany was seen as one of the principal destinations of Old World wine by some South African producers. Even though Germany exported relatively little wine, the country was seen as a major element in higher quality and higher priced wines. After the war, some further fundamental development in wine technology would come from Germany.

While the significance of German wines declined throughout the world, it remained a major traditional influence in South Africa. One might, perhaps, compare this to the more contemporary story of the folk singer, Rodriguez, who lived in poverty in the U.S.A, as South Africans kept his legacy and music alive in the last two decades of the 20th Century.

This is in sharp contrast with the United States of America, where businesses changed their names to sound more patriotic toward the war-effort. In fairness, the Cape winelands saw an influx of German nationals in the 1930s, whereas the mass influx of Italian nationals to the U.S.A. happened rather earlier (already before the 1880s).³⁷² By the time the Second World War had started, many of the prominent Germans mentioned in the last three chapters were still relatively new emigrants in small host communities. In the U.S.A., families such as the Cellas' had assimilated to a great extent into a large overseas diaspora.

Female consumers of wines in the U.S.A. were arguably better exposed to wines than their counterparts in wartime South Africa. Wineries in California enjoyed an

³⁷² David M. Keithly, *The World Series today, 2013: The USA and The World* (Harpers Ferry: Rowman & Littlefield, 2013), 249.

advantage over merchants in South Africa in terms of appealing to a broader audience. Women had already become a significant *buyer* of wine during the Second World War. The focus in The Union was rather on the sale of brandy, simply because the lack of whisky created a new market for it, and legislation from 1924 had also been regulating its quality to ensure better prices. Marketing brandy specifically to women would have stood out against the range of brands that were very distinctly masculine.

In short, *Kommando Brandewyn*, *Scarlet Pimpernel*, *Mr Pickwick*, *Robin Hood* or *Falstaff* (see Chapter One) were in contrast to California's *Housewife Cellar*.

This chapter has, however, accorded some representation to women in the South African wine industry who were influential figures in wine-making. From Marie Furter of Zonnebloem to the two women in the *Duitse Hoek*, Annemarie Canitz and Del Hoheisen, there was no shortage of individual courage in a generally male-dominated industry.

CHAPTER 4: Surviving the War

4 1 Introduction

“Ageing somewhere at the bottom of the Atlantic Ocean are many bottles of select San Joacuin Valley sweet wines once destined for European dinner tables. These wines formed part of a cargo of the 8960 ton British Royal Mail liner “Lochavon,” which a German submarine torpedoed October 13.”³⁷³

The following chapter will consider how much the Second World War influenced industrial development in the wine industries of the Union of South Africa and the United States of America.

From taller cellars one may see and call further: international relations and its effect on the trading of wine related products, especially toward the end of the war, and with a post-war world in sight, will play a major role in this chapter. The fortunes of “empire preference,” will also be discussed.

The changing relationship between cooperatives and national governance and its effect on production, labour and expansion is also of relevance. Some notable meetings of wine farmers held both in South Africa and in the U.S.A will be compared.

The core focus of this section is the increased industrialisation of the South African and American wine industries during the war as a result of government support, the entry of entrepreneurs with a taste for size, and the improving of technology coupled with domestic consumption of wines and brandies that had risen drastically from before the war.

The ways in which the wine industries of South Africa and the U.S.A. reacted to the approaching end of hostilities will be a further theme of this chapter. Both industries reached the final sprint of the economic anomaly that was global conflict in weary spirits. Already at the start of 1945 one saw adverts from banks and factories using the term “post-war” with the determined assumption that the War would end within the near future.

³⁷³ “U.S. Wine Cargo Torpedoed,” *Wines and Vines* 20, no. 11 (November 1939): 28.

4 2 Coq au vin: Fighting for the Golden Hen

The production of modern wines on a large scale requires a certain amount of industrial power. This has been the case throughout the history of wine production outside home-use. Despite it being possible to make wine with relatively little infrastructure, T.K. Derry and Trevor I. Williams have argued that in fifth century Greece, ‘a huge industrial development was required to produce metals, cloth, pottery, oil and wine.’³⁷⁴ In a sense, this industrial development was necessary to produce enough wine for a sustainable wine trade.

Ian Inkster has remarked that in the period 1860-1900, the nations which industrialised involved Japan, Hungary, Austria, Germany, Italy, Sweden, Russia and ‘the somewhat special case’ of the U.S.A.³⁷⁵ Emilia Potenza suggests that South Africa similarly had also experienced such a movement at the hand of the massive gold and diamond discoveries in the 1860s and 1890s.³⁷⁶

The increase of wine production in the late 1930s in California necessitated industrial expansion. The building of cellars and tanks and the improvement of technology that preceded the war had deposited much of its roots already at the turn of the century, as new entrepreneurs entered the trade.

A big firm like *The Hocking Glass Company*, which came into existence in 1905, became an important business institution by 1935. In 1937, it merged with AncorCap and Closure Corporation, and formed the Anchor Hocking glass corporation.³⁷⁷

In the Second half of the Second World War such firms did much to advertise their involvement in wartime production. They did, however, not waste time in gaining more straightforward commercial market share, and in doing so on the back of wartime advertising. The Anchor Hocking glass corporation was quick to bring war into its marketing of screw caps. Early in 1942, it placed an advertisement in which a soldier’s

³⁷⁴ T.K. Derry and Trevor I. Williams, *A Short history of Technology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1960), 15.

³⁷⁵ Ian Inkster, *Science and technology in history: an approach to industrial development* (London: Macmillan, 1991), 168.

³⁷⁶ Emilia Potenza, “All That Glitters - What is industrialisation?” n.p., accessed April 7, 2016, <http://www.sahistory.org.za/archive/all-glitters-what-industrialisation-emilia-potenza>.

³⁷⁷ Mark F. Moran, *Antique Trader Salt and Pepper Shaker Price Guide* (Iola: Krause Publications, 2008), 155.

knapsack is ripped open in front of his officers, sending into the air his plate, fork, socks, helmet and pin-up poster. It was captioned “when you seal it, be sure!”³⁷⁸

The war, however, saw a change in who they were marketing to. Lapsley writes that regional bottlers could not retain their power as the United States entered the war.³⁷⁹ This was, amongst many reasons, because of the economic milieu created in wartime, in which ‘at-winery bottling,’ became an easier goal to achieve.

Another reason would be the fact that so many of these bottlers saw their facilities being used for the production of war-goods. Wineries, with unprecedented interest in their wines shown domestically and even abroad, would naturally start bottling on their own.

Glass, cap and filter producers therefore had to ensure their products would be bought by individual wineries. Technological advance took place at these wineries at different paces in relation to their ability to invest into it.

Wine cooling units, which would only really become a factor in South Africa in the 1950s, were being advertised widely in California already in the 1940s.

Individual wineries acquired their very own golden hens, in a way taken from the giant regional bottlers as they were occupied with war production.

The wine industry was not unique in this striking development. The United States saw production, shipping, and distribution change hands from bigger regional companies to smaller producers during the War.

4 3 A meeting in Paarl: A view of the War in 1945

An the annual general Meeting of the K.W.V. in June 1945 a certain calmness returned to the rhetoric used.

The death of F.W. “Frankie” Myburgh was first to be mentioned in the chairman’s speech. It was remembered that Myburgh was the first maker of “Witzenberg.”³⁸⁰

³⁷⁸ The Anchor Hocking glass corporation, advertisement placed in the *Wines and Vines* 23, no. 2 (February 1942): 32.

³⁷⁹ Lapsley, James T. *Bottled Poetry*: 98.

³⁸⁰ Chairman’s speech transcribed in *Wine and Spirit* XIV, no. 166 (July 1945): 6298.

The chairman also spoke of over-production and even of its “evils.”³⁸¹ According to him, notwithstanding the circumstances in 1945, which he deemed to be the “most favourable in our history,” the consumption of wines and brandies was still less than production. He alluded to government control over consumption being a factor in this.

The war-years had seen some factors collide which in future could prove a grievous blow to the wine industry. Firstly, the production capabilities of the wine industry increased dramatically. This was a result of better technology, improved transport, and increased investment as a result of the augmented need for South African wines and brandies in wartime. The formation of cooperatives and the growth of SFW also prompted the planting of more vines and the building of cellars, which were monitored and restricted, although, not sufficiently.

The actual bottling of ‘*good wines*’ were curbed with Act No. 23 of 1940. The K.W.V. was given greater control over overall production with specific focus on natural drinking wine.

The Union of South Africa was thus producing below its capabilities in 1945. According to the K.W.V., a highpoint in domestic consumption had already been reached. The chairman pointed out that consumption of brandy within the Union was even declining.³⁸² Production had gone from 290 308 leaguers (at 20% strength) in 1939 to 509 792 leaguers (at 20%) in 1944. Consumption of brandy went from 48 755 leaguers in 1939 (the previous year it was 35 087) to 101 918 in 1944. The acme was reached in 1944, with 104 204 leaguers.³⁸³

After a swift discussion of topics such as the price payable on wine and on the fact that the K.W.V. still had to pay subsidies in aid of the raisin industry, despite the efforts discussed in Chapter Two of this thesis, the chairman moved onto the subject of drunkenness amongst coloured people.

The Dutch Reformed Church had, during the war, formed a committee to assess alcohol consumption in the Cape, and specifically that of its coloured people. A meeting between the Church and the K.W.V. was set up. The views of the board of the K.W.V. on the issue were contentious, yet Kohler felt that the meeting (which he said

³⁸¹ Chairman’s speech, 6298.

³⁸² Chairman’s speech, 6298.

³⁸³ Chairman’s speech, 6298.

was friendly and earnest) had forced the church to look at the topic in a new light. This was obviously not entirely true.

To try to bring balance to the church's view, the Minister of Justice (Colin Steyn) created a new commission, this time including some of the directors of the K.W.V., as well as its chairman.

Additional prevention of alcohol consumption for groups in South Africa would be an axe over the wine industry that had grown so rapidly before the war. Wine farmers in general did not agree with prohibition for coloured people, and in most cases thought the prohibition of alcohol for black Africans was perhaps too harsh.

The K.W.V. then invited members of both Houses of Parliament to its cellars in Paarl for a luncheon in March. Colin Steyn, was also present. There, he announced that prohibition had not worked in the United States of America, and that "restrictive legislation" in South Africa was similarly worsening the state of communities.³⁸⁴ He repeated this opinion in Parliament.

The K.W.V.s assets were also discussed. During the war there had been considerable growth in its worth. The value of landed property and buildings grew from £458 848 to £540 532 between 1943 and 1944 alone.³⁸⁵ The worth of machinery also grew in that year.³⁸⁶

The last matter deliberated on at the meeting was the issue of taxation of wines and brandies and spirits, both domestically and abroad. The chairman reported that, in 1944, the national treasury had received £ 3 538 642 from brandy and spirits alone.³⁸⁷ According to him, this was detrimental to the export trade. It should be noted that £3 538 642 was, if accurate, an absolutely astounding figure – would have raised the roof.³⁸⁸ Nowhere at this meeting, however, were the figures given showing what the K.W.V.s profits were to warrant such taxation. This, conceivably, would have been met with even greater unhappiness. The K.W.V. was not yet a company (as it would go on to become in the 1990s), and profit was not allocated to farmers or shareholders.

³⁸⁴ Chairman's speech, 6300.

³⁸⁵ Chairman's speech, 6298.

³⁸⁶ Chairman's speech, 6298.

³⁸⁷ Chairman's speech, 6300.

³⁸⁸ By my calculations it would amount to £123 300 00 or R220 021 413 today.

The duties collected in markets such as Britain was also an issue. It was alleged that some countries within the Allied camp were aiding the wine industries of Axis countries. The chairman of the K.W.V. took serious issue with this. In his view, South African soldiers had died while protecting Britain, and that it was unfair to have backs turned on South African industries. He quoted the following: "Is the children's bread then to be taken from them and thrown to the dogs?"³⁸⁹

4 4 Over the pass: A meeting in Worcester

As much of the dust of the war settled, the K.W.V. hosted its yearly conference for wine farmers in Worcester in December 1945. Despite the widely publicised unhappiness of so many wine farmers, which the secretary of the K.W.V. noted, the meeting was not well attended.

Four issues were discussed at the meeting: wine quotas, empire preference, the report of the liquor commission, and the K.W.V.s' wider activities. The hope was prevalent that the K.W.V. would do all that it could to capitalise on the apparent effects of the war, which included an entrenched relationship with the empire, and the decreased production of Old-World producers. Those in attendance at the meeting were therefore hopeful that news of improved trade, especially with Britain, would be on the agenda.

Wine quotas was a subject of grievance. The K.W.V.s' starting point was that the quota system had not yet been fully tested, and that it would not be wise to approach the government to intervene again, as during the war-years so much had already been asked of it by the co-operative. The secretary of the K.W.V. stressed that if any farmer thought his neighbour's quota to be too big, the K.W.V. would gladly receive information of this. It would be handled confidentially.³⁹⁰

The matter of empire preference was discussed relatively briefly. Before the British government pushed up the tax payable on imported wines, the South African wine industry had benefitted from the better tariffs issued to exporters such as the K.W.V. This was part of an arrangement to buttress 'empire wines.' As countries without the support of this arrangement exported to Britain, an import tax of 4s was

³⁸⁹ Chairman's speech, 6300.

³⁹⁰ "Jaarlikse Konferensie van Wynboere gehou te Worcester, op Saterdag 1 Desember 1945," *Wine and Spirit* XI, no. 172 (January 1946): 6481.

enforced. South African wines were only levied 2s.³⁹¹ For wines of higher alcohol, South African exporters paid 4s instead of 8s. As the war progressed, the tax payable on wines imported by Britain rose from 4s to 17s, and from 8s to 34s.³⁹² The cutback given to empire wines did not increase. Preference was still given at 2s and 4s respectively, resulting in smaller profits and higher prices on shelves.

California wines did not enjoy this same historical advantage when exporting to Britain. The secretary of the K.W.V. reported that the British government had had to borrow from the U.S.A. to sustain itself in wartime, and that this could mean that the preference given to empire wines would have been taken away. It was reported that Washington had already requested this.³⁹³ The K.W.V., hoping not to lose preferential rates, set up a meeting with the Minister of Trade and Industry in the week after the meeting at Worcester. It was argued that the South African wine industry had built itself up on the preference given by the British market (see Chapter One).³⁹⁴ The massive investments made in infrastructure and risks taken in the increase of vineyards and employment would all have been in vain if preference to South African wines and brandies ceased.

The third matter discussed at the meeting was the report of the latest liquor commission. The K.W.V. Secretary suggested that the latest report of the commission had made the same mistake as the previous one by concluding that the only way in which the drunkenness of the coloured population of the Western Cape could be stopped, was by imposing further restrictions.³⁹⁵

The commission proposed that the 'dop'-system ('tot'-system) be abolished. The K.W.V. took issue with this. The secretary asked, for instance, "how can you tell a man who works with wine every day that he can longer drink that which he has made? What would happen then? They will all become criminals."³⁹⁶ He also surmised that workers would no longer want to live on farms. Furthermore, the K.W.V. claimed that it could not find any concrete proof that the drunkenness of coloured farm labourers had

³⁹¹ "Jaarlikse Konferensie van Wynboere, 6482.

³⁹² "Jaarlikse Konferensie van Wynboere, 6482.

³⁹³ "Jaarlikse Konferensie van Wynboere, 6482.

³⁹⁴ "Jaarlikse Konferensie van Wynboere, 6482.

³⁹⁵ "Jaarlikse Konferensie van Wynboere gehou te Worcester, 6482.

³⁹⁶ "Jaarlikse Konferensie van Wynboere gehou te Worcester, 6482.

increased more than that of the “natives”, who were regulated by an almost total prohibition of modern liquors and wines. Overall, the K.W.V. claimed that despite the report, it had trouble believing that coloured drunkenness had in fact become inflamed at all. It was not too far off from the truth.

Professor W.J. Pretorius, also present at the meeting, read aloud from a newspaper article: “a detailed report on crime during the last five years shows that drunkenness [of the entire population] has increased from 4275 cases in 1940-1941 to 6640 in the year ended October 31, 1945. Among Europeans drunkenness decreased, coloureds remained much the same, but in the case of natives there was a 2.2 per cent. increase.”³⁹⁷ It does not have to be pointed out that these statistics did not add up. Pretorius argued that prohibition did not reduce consumption or drunkenness. Instead, it only criminalised it. In 1946 Kohler would, also in a speech, say that “drunkenness and particularly crime are worst amongst those who are prohibited from and restricted in buying and consuming wine.”³⁹⁸

The K.W.V. also seemed flabbergasted by the commission’s proposition that labourers were in future to receive at least one good meal per day. It was said that “they (sic) are not telling us who should be the ones giving this... what is wrong with these people to propose such a thing? Are their housewives going to do it [prepare the food]? Would they, if they were farmers, be prepared to do it? It is a laughable proposition! I can’t understand it.”³⁹⁹

The board of the K.W.V. did agree with the commission on the matter of improved housing for coloured farm labourers – and that government had to invest more money (loans) to farmers to be able to achieve this. The idea of money being given to farmers (for any cause related to infrastructure) overshadowed the claim that most of these labourers’ houses were not suitable for living respectable lives. To put the living standards of labourers in perspective:

Between 1945 and 1946, the infant mortality rate for coloured people in the district of Tulbagh was 51.8 per thousand. This was especially high compared to the 18.7 per thousand of the white population in the area. Tuberculosis, venereal disease and

³⁹⁷ “Jaarlikse Konferensie van Wynboere gehou te Worcester, 6483.

³⁹⁸ “Chairman’s Speech,” *Wine and Spirit* XV, no. 178 (July 1946): 6698.

³⁹⁹ “Jaarlikse Konferensie van Wynboere gehou te Worcester, 6483.

gastro-enteritis were some of the dominant sicknesses in the area. In 1946, it was found that tuberculosis in the Tulbagh district was in that year exclusively contracted by Coloured people. There were no centres for carriers of venereal sicknesses in the area.⁴⁰⁰

The last matter addressed from the official agenda was the K.W.V.'s wider activities. It was stressed that there was renewed focus on export markets. According to the convener of the meeting, the quality of good wines had diminished, as many producers were rather focusing on wine for distilling. The domestic consumption, according to the Secretary, had also increased from 1 238 375 proof gallons in 1939 to 2 588 707 in 1944.⁴⁰¹ Overall production increased as the 5 010 292 proof gallons of spirits in 1937 improved by more than 3 million gallons to a weighty 8 435 935 in 1944.

The K.W.V. had, during the war years, built 16 new brandy storerooms in Worcester alone. Each of these had a capacity of 2500 leaguers of brandy. Space had been provided in all the K.W.V. cellars for more than 31 000 000 gallons of wine and brandy.⁴⁰² Production and investments were thus continuing to increase beyond the reach of consumption. The Secretary reiterated the comments of the meeting held in Paarl earlier in 1945 regarding consumption which had in probability already reached its limit in domestic volume.

4 5 Gifts from a well-tended garden: Empire Wines

Home consumption of brandy in South Africa rose throughout 1945. In January (the lowest in the year), a reported 170 830 proof gallons of brandy were consumed. In the month of August, 248 835 proof gallons were consumed domestically.⁴⁰³

1945 as a year may explain why farmers believed exports to Britain would remain the most sustainable market in the future. The highest exports came in the month of March – a massive 88 003 proof gallons.⁴⁰⁴

As the year progressed, there seemed to be more stability. In South Africa and in the United States, members of the wine industry felt that a new era of international

⁴⁰⁰ Venter, *Coloured*, 53.

⁴⁰¹ "Jaarlikse Konferensie van Wynboere, 6482.

⁴⁰² "Jaarlikse Konferensie van Wynboere, 6485.

⁴⁰³ "Statistics on Brandy," *Wine and Spirit* XV, no. 172 (January 1946): 6496.

⁴⁰⁴ "Statistics on Brandy," 6496.

wine marketing would soon be a reality. At the United Nations Conference on international Organisation in San Francisco, 50 of the participants already signed the United Nations Charter in June.⁴⁰⁵ The massive exports in March were certainly helped by perceived improvement in international relations between Allied governments. The Yalta conference in February, which had specifically dealt with Allied relations in the apparent certain post-war world, strengthened the idea that, where negotiations replaced soldiers, wines and brandies would soon replace the global shipments of war-goods.

The Managing Director of the South African Wine Farmers' Association in London, H.J Etchells, was quoted as saying, "drink imperially."⁴⁰⁶ *Wine and Spirit* reported that General Smuts himself was embracing the notion of "drinking imperially," and that he visited Ottawa soon after the conference in San Francisco to talk about the exchange of products between South Africa and Canada: "South African Wine and Brandy, might, therefore, in the view of General Smuts, reach Canada in a volume to be worth figuring in the trade lists."⁴⁰⁷

In a following issue, Etchells wrote a letter to *Wine and Spirit*, which was published in place of its editorial. In it, he expressed hope that London would soon reduce the import duties of wartime to aid the sale of empire wines in Britain.⁴⁰⁸ In late 1945, it was felt that such a drop was imminent. This could perhaps help explain why the reasonably large amount of exports of 71 795 proof gallons of brandy and spirits fell to 30 133 proof gallons.⁴⁰⁹ Producers would rather wait for an export market from which they were able to gain higher profits.

In December 1945, home consumption of brandy for the month stood at 271 621 proof gallons.⁴¹⁰ The increased consumption of brandy can partly be explained by the drop in imports of whisky. In 1938, South Africa had imported 360 000 gallons. During

⁴⁰⁵ George A. Finch, "The United Nations Charter," *The American Journal of International Law* 39, no. 3 (June 1945): 541-46.

⁴⁰⁶ "Drink Imperially," *Wine and Spirits* XV, no. 172 (January 1946): 6500.

⁴⁰⁷ "Talks between Prime Ministers," *Wine and Spirits* XV, no. 172 (January 1946): 6500.

⁴⁰⁸ H.J. Etchells, "A farewell Word to the Farmers," *Wine and Spirit* XV, no. 173 (February 1946): 6508.

⁴⁰⁹ "Statistics on Brandy," 6579.

⁴¹⁰ "Statistics on Brandy," 6579.

the war, as restrictions were imposed and the exporting facilities of whisky-producing countries were stunted, this number fell to 22 000 gallons in 1943.⁴¹¹

4 6 The big Four: a gap for Distillers in California

Four big distillers became powerful forces in the California wine industry during the Second World War: Schenley, National Distillers, Hiram Walker, and Seagram. In December 1943, they owned around 23% of the total storage area in California, and 25.4 % of the total wine inventory.⁴¹²

By 1942, these four were already making about 20% of all the wine produced in California. At the time, there were 15 000 grape growers. By 1944, these four were referred to in the *Wines and Vines* as octopuses.⁴¹³ Generally, however, the viewpoints aired in *Wines and Vines* were not as opposed to these distillers as were ordinary growers.⁴¹⁴

There was a very aggressive letter written by one H.A. Savage, the Secretary of the Muscat Grape Growers Committee of Fresno. This letter was reportedly also put into the records of the Senate. Savage alleged that the Distillers had some improper power over the War Food Administration.

It is strange to see how sarcastically *Wines and Vines*, which was, to my knowledge not affiliated to these distillers, handled this charge: “a letter which the Senate seemed to think so highly of that they had it read into the records.”⁴¹⁵ A Senate Judiciary Committee was duly put in charge to investigate the influence of major distillers in California.⁴¹⁶

An accusation was also made that the Distillers had a particular power over the Wine Institute. This on the grounds of Wine Institute directors that were linked to the Distillers, namely J.B. Cella, Lee Jones and Edmund A. Rossi. In actual fact, these

⁴¹¹ “Statistics on Brandy,” 6579.

⁴¹² E.B. Wienand, “The Big Four and the Facts,” *Wines and Vines* 25, no. 2 (February 1944): 11.

⁴¹³ E.B. Wienand, “The Big Four and the Facts,” 10.

⁴¹⁴ “Committee cries Wolf,” *Wines and Vines* 25, no. 2 (February 1944): 9.

⁴¹⁵ E.B. Wienand, “The Big Four and the Facts,” 11.

⁴¹⁶ E.B. Wienand, “The Big Four and the Facts,” 10.

men had already been directors of the Institute since 1934, and their companies were bought by the Distillers in the early 1940s.⁴¹⁷

It was also claimed that the entry and influence of the distillers had pushed up the price of wine, which would be detrimental to the market. The *Wine and Vines* maintained that it was not the fault of the Distillers, but rather the War. Shortages had contributed to 'record' high grape prices: "Considering that there was a greater demand for, than supply of, wine grapes, and the OPA did not see fit to apply a ceiling on wine grapes, we have every reason to believe that the majority of purchases would have paid the same prices for grapes even if the names of Schenley, Seagram, et al., had never appeared on the list of winery owners."⁴¹⁸

While wine prices went up, there was a ceiling put on the amount payable on distilled spirits in the United States of America. Already on December 27, 1943, Amendment 9 to the Maximum Price Regulation 445 had been issued.⁴¹⁹ On January 6, 1944, the new Brandy Pricing Regulations became effective. There were two ways of establishing brandy prices: Firstly, it could be priced the same as in March 1942 if there was no change to the brand, formula or the size of the bottle. If there was a change, or a new brand came into existence – new prices were determined. What made this interesting, is that if the brandy had aged more than six months between 1942 and 1944, it was seen as a change in formula.⁴²⁰

4 7 Rupert

The findings of the South African Social and Economic Planning Council, described in the 4th report in August 1944, stated that centralisation and mechanisation would be fundamental in the improving of agricultural productivity and profitability.⁴²¹

For the wine industry of the Cape, these two things would come hand in hand. The report claimed that many advantages would follow if plans were made for farms as a collective. In this way, the providing of necessary machinery, for instance would be

⁴¹⁷ E.B. Wienand, "The Big Four and the Facts," 11.

⁴¹⁸ E.B. Wienand, "The Big Four and the Facts," 11.

⁴¹⁹ "Amendment to Brandy Pricing," *Wines and Vines* 25, no. 1 (January 1944): 29.

⁴²⁰ "New Brandy Pricing Regulation now effective," *Wines and Vines* 25, no. 2 (February 1944) 26.

⁴²¹ Die Sosiale en Ekonomiese Planneraad, *Die Toekoms van die Boerdery in Suid-Afrika, Met inbegrip van Kommentaar oor die Verslag van die Heropboukomitee*. Verslag No. 4, 1944 (Preoria: State Printer, 1944), 11; 14.

cheaper and easier.⁴²² The Agricultural Adjustment Act of the U.S.A. was also mentioned as an example of this.

Furthermore, the report asserted that construction on farms, even if it did not prove to be profitable for the farm itself, but profitable for the broader environment, was an essential part of rebuilding farms in South Africa.⁴²³ The committee even stated that the government itself should undertake such construction.

Anton Rupert would beat the government to it. Rupert, in 1942, started *Tegniese en Industriële Beleggings Beperk*.⁴²⁴ The company, like Rupert's previous enterprise – *Chemiese Reinigers* – had a very strong Afrikaans orientation. For Rupert, Afrikaans was still a very important part of marketing his business (see Chapter One, and the marketing of *Kommando* brandy). The company was soon to be known as TIB.⁴²⁵ According to Dommissie, the money that Rupert made from this became the “vehicle” with which he entered the wine industry.

Rupert met Canzius Pretorius, the accountant of the K.W.V. at the time. Pretorius told him that it would be a good idea to buy the business of the Forrers Brothers in Cape Town.⁴²⁶ He then bought 50% of the business for £17 500. He did not have the money, and like, Paul Canitz, who bought his farm by selling paintings, Rupert bought his stake in the wine industry by selling shares.

Two of his first investors were Frank Le Roux and Paul Roux, who were founding members of the K.W.V., and were put in contact with Rupert by De Wet Theron from the farm Montpellier in Tulbagh. De Wet Theron had previously worked at the K.W.V., where his father was also an important official.

In March 1944, reportedly on the deadline for the last £9000 for his shares in the enterprise of the Forrers Brothers, Rupert had no way of paying it. He drove to a meeting he knew of in De Doorns, where he met with some grape farmers. The timing could not have been better. Along with government investments and a renewed focus on technological and industrial growth in South Africa, Rupert came with an

⁴²² Die Sosiale en Ekonomiese Planneraad, *Die Toekoms van die Boerdery in Suid-Afrika*, 14.

⁴²³ Die Sosiale en Ekonomiese Planneraad, *Die Toekoms van die Boerdery in Suid-Afrika*, 15.

⁴²⁴ Ebbe Dommissie and Willie Esteerhuyse, *Anton Rupert: 'n lewensverhaal* (Tafelberg, Kaapstad, 2004.), 83.

⁴²⁵ Dommissie and Esteerhuyse, *Anton Rupert*, 83.

⁴²⁶ Dommissie and Esteerhuyse, *Anton Rupert*, 86.

opportunity to invest in *Tegniese en Industriële Beleggings Beperk*. He sold £11 000 worth of shares by showing them his ideas for new labels and bottles. He paid the money into the account of the Forrers Brothers before closing time.⁴²⁷

Rupert was able to register the Distillers Corporation in June 1945. Dommissie confirms that it was the first Afrikaans company listed in the Johannesburg Stock Exchange. The directors were S.A. Schonegevel; Anton Rupert; Dirk Hertzog; C.C. Kriel; J.J. Schoeman; J.F. Kirsten; P.C. du Toit and F.S. Steyn.⁴²⁸

The company was met with much unhappiness by other players in the wine industry, with the K.W.V. as probably the most vocal. It was also insinuated that Distillers Corporation was led underhand by the NP (National Party) and its interests. Hertzog himself declared it not to have been the case.⁴²⁹

With the Second World War, there was a surge in exports of South African wine and brandy. The Ko-operatiewe Wijnbowers Vereniging gained greatly from this, and managed to establish itself, at least in the eyes of consumers, as a significant part of the internal trappings of governance in South Africa. Naturally, the scale of its influence was exaggerated by the constant publicity of K.W.V. luncheons with ministers, princes and statesmen. A later example of its efforts to form part of the elite governance and cultural establishment would be the £25 000 made to Stellenbosch University in 1948. This was a substantial amount, especially when compared to the £2500 which the Standard Bank chose to donate in that year.⁴³⁰

4 8 Industrial Boom

“For better or for worse, it was the age of the co-op.”⁴³¹

Prosperity breeds ambition elsewhere. Co-operatives emerged in the wake of K.W.V.s growth. The Bottelary Co-operative, for instance, was founded in 1940. In October

⁴²⁷ Dommissie and Esteerhuyse, *Anton Rupert*, 89.

⁴²⁸ Dommissie and Esteerhuyse, *Anton Rupert*, 90.

⁴²⁹ Dommissie and Esteerhuyse, *Anton Rupert*, 90.

⁴³⁰ H.B. Thom, ed., D.H. Craven, P.S. du Toit, T.N. Hanekom, A.M. Hugo, D.J. Kotzé, P.J. Lombard, F. Smuts, B.Booyens, *Stellenbosch 1866-1966: Honderd Jaar Hoër Onderwys* (Kaapstad, Nasionale Boekhandel Beperk, 1966), 535.

⁴³¹ Tim James, “Swartland past,” *Grape*, accessed October 6, 2015, <http://grape.co.za/2013/11/swartland-past/>. James refers here to post 1948, especially with the influence of the National Party. A future study would do well to use this as a point of departure.

1941, the Welmoed Co-operative was formed. In the same year, Soetwyn Boere Co-operative, Riebeeck Wine Cellar Co-operative, and the Perdeberg Wine Farmers' Co-operative were formed.

Fewer co-operatives were formed in 1942 and 1943, as the war in Europe had caused increased restrictions on the imports of wines. The avenue in which producers were the most interested in, with exceptions such as SFW, was exports. *Wine and Spirit* and even the Californian based-*Wines and Vines* in 1944 indicated that the end of the war was in the hopeful sight of producers already by the middle of the year. This was in spite of the war still being in full force. D-Day, for instance, was in June that year. In Marseilles, the Germans surrendered in August. Perhaps totally unrelatedly, the Windmeul Co-operative was founded in September 1944. This emphasised action taken to expand within the South African wine industry towards the end of the War, just as some of the above-mentioned co-operatives illustrated similar endeavours at the start of the conflict.

In 1945, the Simonsvlei Co-operative and Franschhoek Co-operative cellars were registered. It was clearly less of a financial risk to form a co-operative as the war and all its subsequent trials were being settled. Close to the end of the conflict, a whole series of following prominent cellars were formed: The Swartland Co-operative cellar (1948), the Vredendal Co-operative (1948), the Botha Co-operative (1948), the Mamreweg wine cellar Co-operative (1949), and Waboomsrivier Co-operative wine cellar (1949) amongst others. Barrydale and Vlottenburg Co-operatives were also both founded in the 1940s.

As mentioned earlier in this thesis, the profits made by the K.W.V. during the Second World War far surpassed any of their wildest dreams. Ritzema de La Bat, who was the Chief Executive between 1979 and 1995, notes that the profits made with *Cape Smoke* between 1939-1943 was truly a turning point in the K.W.V.'s approach. According to him, this allowed them to invest more in cellars and buildings – including the K.W.V.'s impressive headquarters in Paarl. The profits of £6 million⁴³² made by shiploads full of alcohol to soldiers in the North became the foundation of a new era in the K.W.V.s industrial growth.

⁴³² Ritzema de La Bat, interview with author, August 22, 2016.

It is important to note that, as shown, an exceptionally large number of cellars were also built by the K.W.V. before the war. This may come as a surprise, as the years leading up to the war were not at all prosperous. Yet, hardship and expansion were both factors of over-production. The K.W.V., having been given the responsibility of selling surplus wines, a responsibility it could not live up to, was forced to horde, to horde some more, and to expand in order to horde even more.

The cellars built after the war, however, were birds of a different feather. The capital injection brought on by *Cape Smoke* brandy permitted greater investment in the design and quality of their structures. The extensive building and development after the war escorted South African wine cellaring into a new era. This would soon become an era of new technologies like cold fermentation,⁴³³ better pumps, and monumental vaults of wines and brandies.

4 9 Mechanics, not panics

“Now is the very best time to get yourself fully informed as to the best labellers in the world for your postwar future.”⁴³⁴

By the end of the Second World War, one saw far more talk of automatic labelling machines in California than in 1939. The Petri Wine Company’s bottling line, publicised to be one of the most efficient in the industry, was a prominent example of some of the technological strides taken in the war years.⁴³⁵

There were numerous examples of technological growth in areas affecting the broader wine industry. It had, in fact, become a theme in advertising toward the end of the war. Even a relatively rudimentary product could draw from this trend by promoting its new and improved mechanical parts. Photovolt Corporation in New York, for example, advertised its apparent ground-breaking photoelectric colorimeter. This instrument could check the colour and turbidity of wines more efficiently.⁴³⁶

⁴³³ Cold Fermentation was not brought on by the K.W.V., but certainly emerged partly as a result of increased investment into cellars in the Western Cape.

⁴³⁴ Economic Machinery, Advertisement placed in *Wines and Vines* 25, no. 1 (January 1944): 24.

⁴³⁵ Gerard B. Cloran, “Adhesives and Labeling Methods,” *Wines and Vines* 25, no. 1 (January 1944): 17.

⁴³⁶ “Colorimeter for Testing Wine,” *Wines and Vines* 25, no. 1 (January 1944): 30.

It became clear that, as soon as the war was over, the capital invested in the industrial development sector would result in a prosperous industry. It was hoped that American wines, which had been welcomed by the domestic market, would follow American soldiers into the rest of the world (much in the way that Coca Cola had succeeded in doing). Early in 1944, the Economic Machinery Company placed an advertisement in which it said: “we are looking forward to... new and better worlds.”⁴³⁷ Markets in the outside world, it seems, had become the prize for wartime sacrifices. “That’s the result of our intensive war production experience and knowledge and experience we’ve picked up from close teamwork with users ... who have met extraordinary wartime conditions and demands so successfully.”

The George Windeler Company also advertised its wine tanks with triumph over the Axis powers in sight: “For Victory Tanks for our Army and Navy After Victory Tanks for our Wineries.” An end to this war, if not yet victory, was inevitable. The Edward Ermold Company advertised its machines with a distinct end-in-sight theme: “The post-war Ermold: Multiple automatic labelling machines are being improved for greater Efficiency! Ermold’s plant is now busy on essential war work. However, our facilities have been completely modernized and enlarged to produce even better Ermold labelling Machines after the war... Post-War orders now being accepted. Write for details.”⁴³⁸

Another example of how the world appeared to be in easier reach as a result of the war was an advertisement by the National Filter Cooperation: “Purit Filterdiscs cover the World...All countries in the western hemisphere know Purit as America’s leading filtering material.”⁴³⁹

The world seemed also to be closer to the Eastern Seaboard. In 1944, Colonial Grape opened its New York offices. By this time, Petri Wine Company also had a branch in Brooklyn (as well as in Chicago).

Widmer’s Wine Cellars, Inc., in Naples (New York), which in the beginning of 1943 experienced a massive fire, managed to erect a new boiler room in surprisingly quick time. It did, for the time being, not replace the jelly-making equipment lost in the fire.

⁴³⁷ Economic Machinery, advertisement placed in *Wines and Vines* 25, no. 1 (January 1944): 24.

⁴³⁸ Edward Ermold Company, advertisement placed in *Wines and Vines* 25, no. 2 (February 1944) 28.

⁴³⁹ National Filter Cooperation, advertisement placed in *Wines and Vines* 25, no. 1 (January 1944): 19.

Rather, it improved on grape-juice production.⁴⁴⁰ The production line improved visibly: it was a massive enterprise: Widmer's presses could produce up to 3000 gallons of juice per hour.⁴⁴¹

The K.W.V. in the 1930s also boasted large machinery. One K.W.V. cellar was photographed with the caption, "The last word on mechanical efficiency." This described a washing machine for bottles that could clean 2400-3000 bottles per hour. The grape juice machine could sterilise, bottle, cork, and label grape juice at a rate of 2400-3000 bottles an hour, and entirely without human contact.⁴⁴²

4 10 My Dear Kohler,

The months of January and February 1945 saw events that, in the world to come, would be crucial to much of the literature concerned with the Second World War. On 27 January, Auschwitz was liberated; on the 28th the Battle of the Bulge ended, and on the 30th the liner *Wilhelm Gustloff* was sunk by a Russian submarine, killing over 9,000 German civilians and injured soldiers. On 13 February, the ancient city of Dresden was bombed by the Allied forces – a moment vividly recreated by the writer, Kurt Vonnegut.⁴⁴³

The prime minister of South Africa, Jan Christiaan Smuts, was in his office in Cape Town on 29 January of that year, where he wrote the foreword-letter to be published in C.W.H. Kohler's memoirs.⁴⁴⁴

The foreword was addressed to Kohler himself, and was one of appreciation and respect, without swaying from Smuts' typical style: "You have a story worth telling, have told it, and thus once more rendered a public service." Beyond the words, "my dear Kohler," it was formulated in a formal and distant way, not unlike that of the stiffness of much of his other correspondence in this period.

⁴⁴⁰ "Grape Juice for Uncle Sam's Army: Widmer's new production line in action," *Wines and Vines* 25, no. 2 (February 1944): 15.

⁴⁴¹ "Grape Juice for Uncle Sam's Army," 15.

⁴⁴² Display in K.W.V archives, accessed June 20, 2016.

⁴⁴³ Kurt Vonnegut, *Slaughterhouse-Five, or The Children's Crusade: A Duty-Dance with Death* (New York: Delacorte, 1969), 1-134.

⁴⁴⁴ J.C. Smuts, "Foreword," in Kohler, Charles William Henry, and Annette Joelson. *The memoirs of Kohler of the K.W.V.* (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1946.) n.p.

Kohler's part in the K.W.V. was highlighted. Smuts wrote, "you will be remembered as Kohler of the K.W.V., of the greatest and most successful feat in agricultural co-operation which South Africa has yet performed."⁴⁴⁵

The letter was, unsurprisingly, also filled with political rhetoric: "the oldest and best settled part of our population in the Western Cape is and has been engaged in wine farming and from this part has gone forth generation after generation of able and enterprising young men and women to other parts east and north on the great task of African development."⁴⁴⁶

Smuts, being Smuts, could not ignore the role he considered himself to have played in the success of the K.W.V., both in its early years and during the Second World War. As he wrote, "at two critical moments, in 1924, and in 1940, I was fortunately in a position to see you through your troubles."⁴⁴⁷

He also mentioned these dates in his letter to the K.W.V in 1943.⁴⁴⁸ This particular letter highlighted the Acts in which Smuts's hand was most visible. He wrote that it gave him "great satisfaction" to see the K.W.V.'s achievements. He reminded the reader once more: "I am the more pleased because I was largely responsible for legislation on two occasions that was, in a way, of a revolutionary character in South Africa – I refer to the Wine and Spirits Act, No, 5 of 1924, and later for the granting of still greater powers to the K.W.V. under Act 23 of 1940 to control and limit the production of alcohol."⁴⁴⁹

4 11 The Big Industrial Change

In much the same way as in the United States of America, companies that produced bottles and closures increased the intensity of their advertising campaigns toward the end of the Second World War in South Africa.

The 1940s in the Union saw the emergence and growth of more shipping companies. Many of these companies emphasised the idea of 'Empire preference.' This preference, as Peter Mathias and Sidney Pollard have suggested, was a

⁴⁴⁵ J.C. Smuts, "Foreword," n.p.

⁴⁴⁶ J.C. Smuts, "Foreword," n.p.

⁴⁴⁷ J.C. Smuts, "Foreword," n.p.

⁴⁴⁸ J.C. Smuts, "Letter to the K.W.V.," *Wine and Spirits* XII, No. 142 (July 1943): 5691.

⁴⁴⁹ J.C. Smuts, "Letter to the K.W.V.," 5691.

relationship more focused on Britain's white Dominions than on its dependant colonies.⁴⁵⁰ South Africa would therefore have high hopes of gaining from it.

This coincided with the rise of factories concerned with domestic production, as many imports were cut off. Thus, where transport of products became entrenched in international (especially empire) rhetoric, the production thereof was marked by the voicing of South African domestic strength.

One such company, *Dart and Howes*, placed an advertisement in *Wine and Spirit* which featured a globe, a train and a ship emerging together. The globe was wrapped in the text, "*Agencies throughout the World.*" The rest read, *Shipping, clearing and forwarding agents (By Appointment of the K.W.V.).*⁴⁵¹ This was in February 1945 – yet the rhetoric of war seemed to be fading away as all-out capitalisation of markets took its place. This was in contrast with production and shipping companies in California, which kept the effects of the war and their part in contributing to its swift end, positioned adjacent to their advertisements.

As if it was an attempt to support some future thesis, the same page also displayed an advertisement for Union Glass Ltd. At the time, it was operating from Cape Town, Johannesburg and Durban. Importantly, it proclaimed a proud national message, "South African Bottles for South African Products."⁴⁵² There was also a declaration by Phoenix Foundry and Engineering Works, which promoted its capabilities to manufacture cast iron doors for cement tanks, brass wine valves and taps.⁴⁵³

Lastly, *Pyramid Brandy* printed quite a simple message between all the above mentioned. It read, "Pyramid Brandy is earning a good reputation."⁴⁵⁴ On the opposite page, *Skipper Brandy* would arguably serve as a better example of brandy advertising

⁴⁵⁰ Peter Mathias, and Sidney Pollard, eds., *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 165.

⁴⁵¹ Dart and Howes, advertisement placed in *Wine and Spirit* XIV, no. 161 (February 1945): 6167.

⁴⁵² Union Glass Ltd (Talana Glass), advertisement placed by *Wine and Spirit* XIV, no. 161 (February 1945): 6167.

⁴⁵³ Hudson & Hopkins (Phoenix Foundry and Engineering Works), advertisement placed in *Wine and Spirit* XIV, no. 161 (February 1945): 6167.

⁴⁵⁴ Pyramid Brandy, advertisement placed in *Wine and Spirit* XIV, no. 161 (February 1945): 6167.

in 1945: "Everything we know about Good Brandy is in a bottle of Skipper."⁴⁵⁵ In the text around the picture of *Skipper*, other products were listed. These were Gin, Liquors, Vermouth, Lemon and Orange Gin and a range of well matured Dry and Sweet Wines..."⁴⁵⁶

4 12 A letter from the U.S.A.

*"If you have time to write me, I will be glad to learn how things are going in your part of the world."*⁴⁵⁷

An unnamed editor of a publication concerned with wines in America (stationed in New York), wrote to the *Wine and Spirit* enquiring how well the South African industry was really doing: "I am wondering what the war has done to the publishing business in South Africa as well as to the wine industry of your area?"⁴⁵⁸

This particular editor offered a quick account of his perception of the broader American wine industry (almost 90% of it was Californian). Whisky distilleries, according to him, were all converted to "industrial alcohol production."⁴⁵⁹ This meant that American whiskey had become almost impossible to buy for most consumers. Gin had also seen the same fate. This created an opportunity for producers in Cuba to produce gin (this particular editor failed to mention the arguably more important production in Mexico, which will be mentioned soon). Consumers were not very happy with these products, as they tasted of rum: purportedly proof of insufficient rectification of the spirits before the gin-making process. The increase in wine consumption was mentioned, and how the war had just intervened by forcing many producers to increase their output in raisins rather than alcohol. A consequence of this situation was that "many of the large distilleries [were] buying control of the wineries."⁴⁶⁰ The reason alluded to for the relative haste in which wineries were being sold off was the fear of

⁴⁵⁵ Lion Wine and Spirit Company LTD (Skipper Brandy), advertisement placed in *Wine and Spirit* XIV, no. 161 (February 1945): 6166.

⁴⁵⁶ Lion Wine and Spirit Company LTD (Skipper Brandy), 6166.

⁴⁵⁷ "Extract from a letter written by an editor in New York to the editor of "wine and spirit,"" *Wine and Spirit* XIII, no. 152 (May 1944): 5945.

⁴⁵⁸ "Extract from a letter written by an editor in New York to the editor of "wine and spirit,"" 5945.

⁴⁵⁹ "Extract from a letter written by an editor in New York to the editor of "wine and spirit,"" 5945.

⁴⁶⁰ "Extract from a letter written by an editor in New York to the editor of "wine and spirit,"" 5945.

another prohibition. The distillers, according to this letter, seemed confident that a prohibition would exempt beer and wine.

Another difficulty in the U.S.A. arose in the form of limited resources in the bottling of wines and brandies. During the Second World War, there was a greater demand for glass in the canned food industry, and the War Production Board order (Order L-103-b) of July 1943 had created a quota system.⁴⁶¹ These restrictions were publicised to only last until the end of October. This would not be the case. In 1944 there was, as in South Africa (where Witzenberg bottled in tomato- and Drie Sprongh bottled in beer bottles) a shortage of bottles and cartons.⁴⁶²

“Unquestionably, the efforts to recover bottles and cartons for re-use will start with the winery, but no matter what action the winery takes... its plan will stand and fall with the attitude of the retailer...”⁴⁶³

In January 1944, a plan was suggested for containers by the War Production Board of the U.S.A. If this plan was to be implemented, glass containers and metal closures would be severely limited to wineries for six months.⁴⁶⁴ The bottle quota per bottler for the six months of 1944 was in effect 65% of “of the new bottle acceptances”⁴⁶⁵ of the last six months of 1942. This ruling, however, was applicable only to new containers. Producers could bottle as per usual with old containers.⁴⁶⁶ It also, importantly, did not apply to very small wineries, for whom the cost of new bottles were less than \$500 a year.⁴⁶⁷

Wine and brandy bottlers could receive a maximum of 80% of the new shipping cartons they used in 1942, again in the same six months.⁴⁶⁸ Wooden shipping containers for alcoholic beverages were also forbidden by the War Production Board. At this time, sparkling wines (especially those labelled as *Champagnes*) were shipped

⁴⁶¹ Harvey W. Martin, “Wineries act in shortage of containers,” *Wines and Vines* 25, no.1 (January 1944): 10.

⁴⁶² “Commenting on the news,” *Wine and Vines* 25, no. 1 (January 1944): 9.

⁴⁶³ “Commenting on the news,” 9.

⁴⁶⁴ “Glass Quota,” *Wines and Vines* 25, no. 2 (February 1944): 28-29.

⁴⁶⁵ These were bottles that were manufactured for him, or delivered to him. An invoice had to be made out to him.

⁴⁶⁶ Containers made from crushed or recycled materials were also seen as new.

⁴⁶⁷ “Glass Quota,” *Wines and Vines* 25, no. 2 (February 1944): 28-29.

⁴⁶⁸ “Carton Quotas Unchanged as Yet,” *Wines and Vines* 25, no. 2 (February 1944): 30.

in wooden boxes. Champagne producers could not convert to using fibre cartons, as they did not use any in 1942 (see above), so they could not use that for their ordering numbers (this was required by order number L-317). Appeals could of course still be made.⁴⁶⁹

Adding to this, some interests in the industry, such as Hecker Company, previously mentioned for their *Housewife's Cellar*, were importing wines from Mexico. Brands like *Santo Tomas: Aristocratic Wines of the Dons* were extensively advertised as a product from the world's "largest" vineyards. This naturally posed a threat to producers in California.

At this stage, a number of elements stood in contrast with South Africa. The South African government had done much to help to secure wine exports.⁴⁷⁰ Imports of wine were certainly not necessary as in California, as stocks had already been piling up in cellars. As mentioned, this increasingly became a threat to the survival of the industry. The K.W.V.'s official organ, *Wine and Spirit*, which declared itself a newspaper, advertised government intervention in an effort to encourage investment and expansion. In California, government intervention was not mentioned with such eagerness. This was 1944, and indeed before the total demonization of any socialism, but an American capitalist tradition was already strong in opposition to government intervention. In 1944, the Regional Director of the Office of Price Administration conceded: "Government control is contrary to the tradition and instinct of American business."⁴⁷¹ Perhaps this is why so much emphasis was put on cooperation by civilians - unforced- for the more abstract common goal of market *freedom*.

As in the United States of America, the domestic consumption of wine-products in South Africa had been surprising: In June 1943 (winter) 224 653 proof gallons of brandy were bought. In the month of July it was 224 796 proof gallons.

Exports in brandy, which in Kohler's speech were said to have commenced again in 1942, amounted to 43 068 gallons in January that year, and to 92 940 gallons in December. In February 1943, 88 971 proof gallons were sent abroad. In July it

⁴⁶⁹ "Champagne Cases," *Wines and Vines* 25, no. 2 (February 1944): 33.

⁴⁷⁰ C.W.H. Kohler, "Notes from the Chairman's Speech, Montagu Congress, 4th December 1943," *Wine and Spirit* XIII, no.148 (January 1944): 5865.

⁴⁷¹ Leo Gentner, "Wine price control for 1944" *Wines and Vines* 25, no. 4 (April, 1944): 15.

amounted to 58 297.⁴⁷² One could conclude that the consumption of brandy went up where the temperature dropped. Harder liquors were indispensable for winter soldiers.

The K.W.V.'s new Eau-de-Cologne (a fragrance that cost relatively little to make) was also doing well. A figure was given of the value of the total exports of grape juice, Eau-de-Cologne, liquor, spirits, grape syrup and grape juice, which amounted to £327 022 in 1940, and to £446 426 in 1941.⁴⁷³

The K.W.V. expanded its buildings and infrastructure during wartime, and was quick to put alarmed investors at ease with assurances: "the K.W.V. has had no time regretting buying ground and making provisions for more storage space."⁴⁷⁴

Exports of South African wine-related products in 1943 showed increases to the East and West coasts of the African continent. Madagascar was also a growing market. While the exports of bottled wines to England almost completely stopped by the end of 1943, the K.W.V. seemed undeterred, as exports in brandy increased to compensate. Wines were also being exported to Canada and to the United States of America.

"Prominent people in England" were reportedly sending the South African Wine Farmer's Association in London a series of letters. Quotes like the following stand out: "The fame of your South African Sherry is spreading rapidly..."⁴⁷⁵

That notwithstanding, the accompanying difficulties of wartime ought not to be overlooked. By 1944, sales of South African wines overall were dropping.⁴⁷⁶ Exports seemed to be in dire straits, especially as South Africa's main buyer, Britain, was threatening to cease imports of wine yet again. The years (world) to come were described as "lean years," again emphasising a very Biblical approach to uncertainty. A shortage of shipping was the predominant reason for this. One could not throw the nets over the other side of the boat without a physical boat. It is necessary to note that the term, 'shipping', was used differently in California than in South Africa. In California, the word described all transport, of which there was a shortage. In South

⁴⁷² Kohler, "Notes from the Chairman's Speech," 5865.

⁴⁷³ The cologne's recipe: one gallon was made out of 143 oz. of spirit at 90% volume; 4 oz. essential oils; 13 oz. distilled water (Found in the K.W.V. archives display).

⁴⁷⁴ Kohler, "Notes from the Chairman's Speech," 5865.

⁴⁷⁵ "From prominent people in England," *Wine and Spirit* XIII, no. 148 (January 1944): 5867.

⁴⁷⁶ Kohler, "Notes from the Chairman's Speech," 5865.

Africa, it referred to actual ships, which seemed to be the most important mode of transport with regards to wine.

Inevitably, the value of exported products (in units) dropped considerably. A decline of £141 662 in the value of exports in liquor, spirits, grape juice, grape syrup and Eau-de-Cologne was reported.⁴⁷⁷

4 13 An end in sight

By 1944, as one saw an increase in adverts talking about “peacetime” in both South Africa’s Western Cape and the U.S.A.’s California, the war had been given meaning quite far removed from how war is spoken about today. Very rarely was violence mentioned in the *Wines and Vines*. It was rather the inconvenience of war that was spoken of; much in the way that a recession would be discussed by some today.

A possible difference between depictions of war in the 1940s and depictions of financially difficult times today, is that the war had an inevitable end as far as advertising was concerned. Naturally, an advertiser would play into some national pride and hope. Manufacturers of bottles and caps in the wine industry, as previously discussed, sought to retain their market share and even to increase it after the war. One therefore saw a multitude of adverts proclaiming that the end was in sight, but to bring on that end would involve working tirelessly to bring victory while altruistically also expanding on their production capabilities.

In South Africa, much of the same type of advertisements in 1944 were run, but rather from emerging banks or financial foundations. One difference was that in the Union there was not the same kind of radical shift from big bottlers to bottling on one’s own farm. The war saw South Africa rather consolidate more towards bigger merchants and wholesalers. Where, in California, there was a shift to greater small-scale production, the Western Cape experienced a shift toward greater large-scale production.

After 1943, the K.W.V. grew handsomely. In the beginning of 1944, it was reported that the previous year had seen the highest production record in its history. The

⁴⁷⁷ Kohler, “Notes from the Chairman's Speech,” 5865.

K.W.V.'s members were already paid out £ 1811000 by the start of December – which was a considerable jump from the year's £1417 000.⁴⁷⁸

4 14 Conclusion

This chapter has suggested that the way in which historiography has handled the entry of distillers in the Californian wine industry has not been handled in a sufficiently nuanced fashion. The stories of individuals have been neglected in blanket narratives, claiming that the wartime economy had created an opportunity for bigger corporations to literally buy up most of the vineyards. Other factors came into play, such as the length of the war (and its increased cost to producers of raisins, who felt that grapes were not fetching the prices they could, and that this would worsen) and even the threat of another prohibition. Wine growers were selling to these corporations, and as in the case of the Cella brothers, were even working for them.

The number of transactions taking place in the wine industry between big distilling companies resulted in additional investment into the state quality of cellars, filters and bottling machines. It has been shown that there was an increasing trend to bottle wines on the wineries themselves during the war.

In South Africa, by the end of the war, one particular distiller would come as a one-man-corporation in the form of Anton Rupert. He had not yet accumulated the wealth he was to be later famed for, but managed to draw producers into his new enterprise, aptly called Distillers, with promises he miraculously kept. Also taking from the way the K.W.V. had aligned itself with the ruling party, Rupert saw that his boards were also studded with influential politicians. Distillers were widely criticized for this, even by officials of the K.W.V.

One fundamental factor from which the South African wine industry was set to gain was the idea of “empire wines.” Jan Smuts had claimed that his visit and dealings in Canada would in future aid wine exports from South Africa to parts of the Allied world.⁴⁷⁹

⁴⁷⁸ Kohler, “Notes from the Chairman's Speech,” 5866.

⁴⁷⁹ “Talks between Prime Ministers,” *Wine and Spirit* XV, no. 172 (January 1946): 6500.

CONCLUSIONS

5 1 Overview

The past chapters have discussed how the position of the South African wine industry changed during the Second World War, both in relation to domestic variables and to the difficult international market of 1939-1945. This was done with a corresponding discussion of the wine industry in California. The following section will highlight the most important findings throughout the dissertation.

In the first chapter, factors deemed as significant in the years leading up to the war were investigated. Most notable was the effect of temperance and prohibition movements in South Africa and the U.S.A. in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Despite American Prohibition having been deemed as more intrusive than prohibition movements in South Africa, it is clear that the latter industry had suffered the loss of much of its potential domestic market by the start of the Second World War. This does not mean wines could not be consumed by the majority of South Africans. On the contrary: just as in the U.S.A., prohibition could never consistently stop those in search of a drink from having it. It did, however, do damage to a potential culture of wine drinking, as wines were not sufficiently marketed or distributed to black South Africans. Without an extensive advertising campaign such as California in 1939, such a tradition would be difficult to nurture in South Africa.

A culture and tradition of beer drinking, as the chapter has suggested, was not necessarily inherent to black South Africans at the start of the 20th century. This too, was created with the formation of beer-halls in the development of urban segregation, and with the better distribution of such products. A further study could explore the beer industry during the Second World War.

The way in which both the wine industries of the Union of South Africa and the U.S.A. centralised around key co-operatives or wine boards before the war was also taken into account. This was a vital component in both industries' ability to react to the Second World War in a streamlined and consolidated way.

The second chapter compared the responses of the wine bodies in South Africa and the U.S.A. as the two countries were respectively drawn into the Second World War. One could make an argument that South African bodies reacted to the war in a far more anxious way than in the United States, given the Union's lack of ideological

unity. As South African wines and brandies would predominantly be exported, shipping space, over-production and high excise duties on plummeting wine prices were prominent thorns in the worn out soles of the nervously pacing K.W.V. officials.

Some relief came in the form of the Wine and Spirits Control Amendment Act of 1940. This would allow the K.W.V. to limit the production of wine and fix a minimum price.⁴⁸⁰

In the U.S.A., the momentum built up in wine sales in 1939 continued throughout 1941 and 1942 as the country entered the war. Shortages in the wine industry became a more noticeable problem in the U.S.A. than in South Africa. This included a shortage of wine – one dilemma this author is certain would have been the lesser of two evils in the over-producing South Africa. It must be emphasised that the American wine industry was not without its own predicaments. The ability of big distilling firms to accumulate so many vineyards in California during the war speaks of uncertainty and discomfort for producers, despite the apparent prosperous years of 1939 and 1940.

The third chapter of this thesis attempted a closer study of the actions and indeed the dispositions of some individuals. An important finding in this chapter was the tolerance and undeniable cultivation of German culture, continuing in wartime. This had a profound effect on the wine industry in the years to come. The focus on white wines (most notably, SFW's success with *Lieberstein* in the 1950s and 1960s) was in many cases informed by German heritage and even German technology.

The treatment of Italian POWs was considered in relation to the treatment of other labourers. The experiences of the Cape Corps who guarded these prisoners, and their links with farm labourer in the Cape has not been sufficiently researched. An additional study devoted solely to the plight of farm labourers during the war would also do well to include a study of the Corps. Chapter Three touched on the story of a band of boozy coloured men armed with musical instruments called the *Crazy Capers* who entertained Allied forces far away from home. A.J. Venters' 1974 work, *Coloured: a profile of two million South Africans* may still serve as a foundation to further study of

⁴⁸⁰ Wine and Spirits Control Amendment Act, 1940, Act No. 23 of 1940, 5 (1), *Statutes of the Union of South Africa, 1939-1940* (Cape Town, 1940), 438.

rural working experience, even if it does come from a historiographically outmoded approach.⁴⁸¹

This chapter also attempted to delve into the lives of some significant K.W.V. officials. It was important to determine to what extent they were linked to the Government. One particular point that this author wishes to make, however unpopular, is that during the Second World War, the K.W.V. was not the tyrannical organisation described in the historiography of the South African wine industry.⁴⁸² Its relationship with the Pretoria authorities has been shrouded in theories of unfair coalition and conspiracy. Forgetting for a moment the years that came *after* the war, not enough proof has been uncovered to show that the K.W.V. under C.W.H. Kohler was an oppressive co-operative. Kohler was politically intelligent, and had been as an activist at the turn of the century. His relationships with prominent ministers were professional. His relationship with Jan Smuts was one of mutual respect between two ambitious figures who both saw the survival of the South African wine industry as a vital asset in South Africa's effective reaction to the difficulties of the Second World War.

Chapter Four discussed this survival. Both the wine industries of South Africa and the United States of America gained from the first two years of the conflict in varying ways. By the end of 1941, both industries faced more severe restrictions, putting wine producers under more pressure than before the war. A remark made by Winston Churchill in 1942 comes to mind: "This is not the end. It is not even the beginning of the end. But it is, perhaps, the end of the beginning."

Adversity breeds character, and sometimes machines. The Second World War speeded up technological growth in countries where war goods were manufactured. In South Africa and in the United States, particularly in terms of filters, tanks, cooling systems, bottling machines and enclosures, technological advancement directly affected the production of wine.

One way in which the difficulties with regard to regulation experienced in the South African and American wine industries contributed to technological innovation was the fact that financial uncertainty or hardship in the winelands gave bigger firms or co-operations the opportunity to amass struggling wineries. This was done by actually

⁴⁸¹ A.L.J. Venter, *Coloured: a profile of two million South Africans* (Cape Town: Human and Rousseau, 1974), 1-540.

⁴⁸² As often voiced in wine histories today.

buying such wineries (as in California), or in the case of SFW in South Africa, the drawing up of unfavourable contracts.⁴⁸³ The amount of capital pumped into the wine industries in both countries contributed to the building of better facilities and the investment in better technology.

In South Africa, this occurred alongside Government efforts to invest more in agriculture to secure greater self-sufficiency in the post-war world.

Farmers in and around the Western Cape also reacted to the regulatory adversities of 1941 and 1942 by forming co-operative cellars. Chapter Four illustrated how wine farmers in both South Africa and the U.S.A. were present and vocal at meetings held in town halls.

5 2 Connection or disconnection?

By the start of 1944, the wine industries of California in the U.S.A and in the Western Cape of South Africa were similar in the following wartime ways:

Firstly, both industries experienced increased mechanisation (particularly in terms of new cellars and new technology) and expansion.

Secondly, both California and the Western Cape did not have too much of a labour shortage on wine farms. In both areas, there were calls for more labour, but this was opportunistic. In California, there was a huge pool of migrant Mexican labour. This was never as well advertised as were the helping hands of the community – businessmen, schoolchildren, and women. In South Africa, the apparent labour shortage was filled by Italian prisoners of war.

Thirdly, there was a renewed focus and prosperity with regards to brandy in both California and the Western Cape.

Before the war, one of the biggest issues for both industries was surplus. One way to deal with this was to find new markets. This could be done by creating new vine-related products (in South Africa there was a lot of energy put into the production of products derived from grape juice) or just by marketing the current products to new consumers. In the U.S.A., these consumers would increasingly become women. By

⁴⁸³ Danie Steytler, interview with author, June 8, 2016.

1944, the South African *Wine and Spirit* had not yet tuned into Californian wines' gender-specific marketing; they were, however, aware of the fact that Californian wines had managed to boost domestic consumption in the U.S.A. In the first month of the war, before the U.S.A. had entered it, consumption of wine by Americans had far surpassed some of the wildest projections seen in 1938. When war came, the apparent reaction of *wine men* was to capitalise on products such as wartime alcohol (mostly derived from whiskey, and especially made by the four big distilling firms that bought up so much of the Californian wine industry at the time), grape juice and raisins. The sudden decrease in wine production, along with the unprecedented increase of wine consumption, gave higher-priced Californian wines a newfound unavailability and prestige.

As far as C.W.H. Kohler was concerned, the South African wine industry had also gained from the war, much like California. In a speech he made in Montagu at the end of 1943, he declared that, "Our industry, at the moment, is in a very good position. Here and there we find little snags, but in general the K.W.V. is flourishing."⁴⁸⁴

This was, of course, an understatement. The profits made by the exports of distilled wines for the war effort proved to be the harvest that C.W.H. Kohler and the late A.I. Perold had sowed. Their expanding cellars, filled with unsold wine before the war, became monuments to the blind belief that tides would change. Tankers filled with lower-grade distilled wines went on to these tides to make considerable profits in the war-effort. At the same time, however, higher grade brandies and wines could not be shipped for much of the duration of the war.

Domestic consumption and sales of wines and brandies, both in South Africa and the U.S.A, have formed an integral element of this thesis. One aspect that must be taken into account, as mentioned, is the obvious fact that the U.S.A had a far larger population than the Union of South Africa. The 1936 census showed that there were 9 589 898 people in South Africa. In 1936 there were 128 053 180 people in the continental U.S.A. alone. Seven years later, in 1943, there were an estimated 133 966 319 people in continental U.S.A.,⁴⁸⁵ which means that its estimated growth (5 913

⁴⁸⁴ C.W.H. Kohler, "Notes from the Chairman's Speech, Montagu Congress, 4th December 1943," *Wine and Spirit* XIII, no.148 (January 1944): 5865.

⁴⁸⁵ U.S. Department of Commerce, *Statistical Abstract of the United States 1944-1945: Sixty-Sixth Number* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1945), 8.

139) was more than half the entire South African population. The growth of the American population was nearly three times the size of the “European” population (which did not face prohibition at various times in the 20th Century) in South Africa in 1936 (2 003 857).⁴⁸⁶

In comparing the domestic consumption of these two wine-producing countries, it is important not only to consider the quantities of alcohol consumed in total, but the per-capita consumption. Furthermore, a *culture* of wine, however large or small in total consumption, is of undoubted importance. In terms of wine-related products, both South Africa and the U.S.A. saw a change in the culture of consumption and producing during the 1940s.

5 3 Some final thoughts

“Fellow members of the K.W.V.,

We are all thankful that this lengthy and cruel war is over and that our boys that had fought so gallantly are returning home... We welcome them back and more especially those who are wine-farmers and those on the staff of the K.W.V.”⁴⁸⁷

It is clear that the Second World War should not be seen as the sole catalyst of all of the changes and developments considered in this thesis. As we have seen, in pre-war years some fundamental developments had taken place in both of the national wine industries under examination. In reaction to overproduction, both industries experienced centralisation. This meant the rise of large co-operatives and organisations, which represented the dominating interests of both wine producers. Two vulnerable rural industries were given bureaucratic protection.

This, in turn, affected the way in which the two wine industries reacted to the world war. Increasingly powerful organisations could represent the wine industry more effectively. The K.W.V., described in this thesis as a ‘lobbying machine,’ was able to gain from the war in ways that, in all probability, would have been out of reach for

⁴⁸⁶ Union Office of Census and Statistics, *Official Year Book of the Union No. 22* (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1941), 984.

⁴⁸⁷ C.W.H. Kohler, “A New Year Message to the Wine-farmers of South Africa,” *Wine and Spirit* XV, no. 172 (January 1946): 6479.

smaller producers. In the same way, Wine Growers' Associations in California could react with uniformity in order to capitalise on a changing wine world.

Equally, a fundamental difference between the marketing of wines in South Africa and in the U.S.A was shaped by the cultures that influenced the two industries. Where both had a complex relationship with French culture, a distinction can be made with regard to the respective role of German and Italian heritage. In South Africa, much of the branding of wines was coloured by a German milieu, despite the fact that South Africa was engaged in a war against Germany. Similarly, wines in California were often stamped by Italian culture. In both instances, the use of European heritage in wines can simply be explained by the fact of immigration, both pre-war and – sometimes – in wartime.

Far overshadowing such questions as that of home front distribution is the way in which the war buttressed trade relationships between wine exporting and wine importing countries – especially as difficulties strengthened efforts at better communication. A further study could look into how these relationships were maintained after the war. A possible hypothesis is that, over the longer term, South African exports of wines and brandies eventually lost much of what had been gained following the institution of Apartheid. When, and by how much, would, however, require new research.

The Second World War posed the threat of squashing the prospects of two newly-centralised industries. Both South Africa and the United States of America not only survived, but eventually thrived, and their wine cultures preserved distinct national characteristics. Whether in 1945 or in 2015, no one would go to the Napa Valley in search of choice Pinotage. Nor, for that matter, would they go to Paarl in search of choice Zinfandel.

Appendices

American Appendix: The Godfather and Wine

There have been many in-depth analyses of oranges in the film series, *The Godfather*. Oranges, kryptonite of the Sicilians, are used throughout the three films as signifiers of death, bad fortune and dishonesty.

The film-makers did much the same with wine. Although there has been ample writing about the use of wine throughout the series, there has been nothing linking it to the history of the American wine industry at that time, which truly is a period worth mentioning. The first *Godfather* film starts off in 1945, just after the Second World War.⁴⁸⁸

As shown in this thesis, the War saw an enormous increase in wine consumption in the U.S.A. However, as wine historians have neglected to show adequately, this was encouraged by a massive wine drive, which only just preceded the outbreak of war in Europe. The wine drive promoted not only Californian wines, but also wine consumption in general, rescuing the latter from its frail position after losing its foothold to harder liquors in the shuffle of Prohibition.

As a consequence of the encouragement of wine consumption at a time when wine could not be distributed sufficiently, the production of home-made wine also increased fairly dramatically, including harder liquors. It is therefore not strange to see a party with filled jugs and cups in the opening scenes of *The Godfather: Part One*, confirmed in the novel to be home-made wine.⁴⁸⁹ The character, Clemenza, drinks from a jug rather oddly (at least to standards in other new-world wine producing countries such as South Africa), filled with chopped-up oranges. It is worth noting that *wine drive* went to great lengths to promote wine as a diverse drink, introducing Americans to the practice of using fruit in the serving of wine.

The *wine drive* had also done much to advertise wine as a cooking essential. At its peak, just as the United States entered the war and standardisation took place, some wines were still bottled and labelled specifically as 'wine for cooking.' For many Americans who had not yet grown accustomed to *any* wine, the idea of cooking with it was still rather novel. Sicilians, having come from a wine-drinking nation, would have

⁴⁸⁸ *Godfather I*. DVD, directed by Francis Ford Coppola (1974; Los Angeles: Paramount Film, 2003).

⁴⁸⁹ Mario Puzo, *The Godfather* (London: William Heinemann, 1969), 1-600.

been regularly cooking with wine if they had access to it. Luckily, the gangsters of *The Godfather* had transcended and gained from prohibition, and had already pressed great volumes of home-made wine by the time wine was so actively promoted. To a reader of advertisements showing housewives dashing their pots with wine, the overly masculine Clemenza (played by Richard Castellano) is quite the sight as he dumps his home-made beverage into his pasta dish while teaching Michael (played by Al Pacino) how to cook for a 'large family.' The bottle he uses, evidently, had become less common after the war, as a standardisation of bottles was informally instigated already in 1941, with that particular shape not being in favour.

Another very important part of the wine drive was the marketing of wine as a 'health essential,' especially in the early 1940s in countries such as Australia, South Africa and the U.S.A. Before the Second World War, but more so earlier in the inter-war period, wine was marketed rather as a cheap alcohol – or an imperial beverage, made in France and drunk by British gentlemen.

A scene that has often been quoted from the First *Godfather* is that of Don Corleone (at this point actually a Don emeritus, and played by Marlon Brando) and Michael (the new Don Corleone) in the backyard, where Brando's character tells his son that he has been drinking a lot of wine lately.

"So, Barzini will move against you first. He'll set up a meeting with someone that you absolutely trust guaranteeing your safety and at that meeting you'll be assassinated. I like to drink wine more than I used to. Anyway, I'm drinking more."

"It's good for you, Pop."

"I don't know... Your wife and your children, are you happy with them?"

"Very happy."

The author would have intended this scene for a number of reasons, including Don Corleone's final efforts to find truth and happiness in old age, with the object of wine his tool of preference. Coincidentally, the two characters are historical mouthpieces for American wine marketers of the 1930s and 1940s. The idea of wine being 'good for you' was still rather new one at the time of this dialogue. The dialogue unintentionally marks a shift in the marketing of wine in the 20th century.

Along with the idea of wine as an immune system booster came research regarding wine as a beverage that improved *happiness*.

In one very prominent scene in *The Godfather*, Don Corleone (perhaps immune to marketing ploys or just not an avid reader of French scientific journals) had possibly not yet fully believed the idea that wine can be *good for you*, or that happiness was something acquired as easily as consuming a beverage. Instead, he might have believed that happiness was something acquired in the time spent with one's grandson.

He dies while playing in a small orange orchard, leaving behind some cut-up fruit, a confused little boy and a bottle of unfinished homemade wine.⁴⁹⁰

⁴⁹⁰ In my opinion, the most brilliant summery of this scene (and Don Corleone's character in general) is a performance by John Belushi in a Saturday Night Live skit. Belushi enacts Don Corleone in a support group, unable to voice his pain. The psychiatrist asks him to re-enact his pain non-verbally. He goes forth to cut up an orange, put the skin in his mouth (like Don Corleone in his final moments of the film) and dies. The scene seems whimsical, but actually accomplishes a vivid summary of Don Corleone's character.

A wine line: The South African Industry from Genesis to after WOII

(Facts used and accordingly referenced throughout the essay)

Facts used and accordingly referenced throughout the essay)

1650s: The first vines are imported to the Cape in damp cloth. Some of these were actually from the Rhineland. They are pressed later in this decade.

1680's: French Huguenots are shipped to South Africa – some also to the U.S.A.

1825: Exports of Cape wines boom for the first time after Britain places heavy tariffs on French wines – farmers in the Cape increase their vineyards dramatically.

1865: Britain's tariffs on French wine are lowered, damaging South African wine exports.

1866: Di Patriot reports on a public discussion on 26 November on the subject of prohibition. The report includes the following: "The dispute lasted for two evenings... and the result was undoubtedly in favour of Rev. S.J. du Toit." Du Toit was vehemently opposed to prohibition.

1881: The first traces of the Phylloxera disease invades South Africa. By five years later, most of the vines in the Cape would be destroyed.

1904: South African vineyards are replanted. Many of these roots are imported roots from United States of America.

1906: In response to a range difficulties for the wine industry, more South African co-operatives are formed.

1906: C.W.H. Kohler rises to fame as a voice against the ill-treatment of Jews at a meeting in Paarl.

1914: 114 128 leagues of wine are produced in the Cape.

1918: As overproduction becomes a bigger problem, the chairman of the Cape Wine Farmers and Wine Merchants Association prompts producers to sell exclusively through co-operatives. De Ko-operatiewe Wijnbouwers Vereniging van Zuid-Afrika Beperkt is created to ensure that members get suitable return on their grapes.

1924: K.W.V. is given legal powers. General Smuts himself spoke of his efforts to make this happen.

1925: A.I. Perold makes Pinotage for the first time.

1927: The first South African Pinot-Noir is bottled at Muratie.

1928: 159 722 leagues of wine is produced.

1930s: Many European countries make it illegal to plant hybrid or American vines

1933: The total grape exports amounts to 22 000 cubic tonnes.

1934: Total grape exports grow to 30 000 cubic tonnes.

1935: Total grape exports reaches 35 000 cubic tonnes.

1935: SFW becomes a public company.

1937: Nederburg is bought by Johann Graue, one of the innovators of cold fermentation for white wines.

1937: 245, 325 leagues of wine are produced.

1938: The total vintage, including Raisins, Sultanas and Good wine, amounts to 278, 213 leagues.

1938: Grape exports grow to 42 000 cubic tonnes.

1939: The Union of South Africa, with Smuts in power, declares war on Germany.

1940: Wine and Spirit Control Act no. 23

1940: £5 million is pledged to the industrial development cooperation by the government.

1940: The Union also declares war on Italy

1940: Bottelary Co-operative founded in 1940.

1941: The USA enters the war.

1941: Perdeberg Wine Farmer's Cooperative is established.

1941: Riebeek wine Cellar co-operative is instituted.

1941: Soetwyn Boere Co-operative is initiated.

1941: Welmoed Co-operative wine cellar found on 15 October.

1941: A.I. Perold dies.

1943: 290 308 leagues of wine is produced.

1943: One leaguer of wine for distilling gives the farmer £5. 0s. 6 ½d. "Goeie Wyn" fetches £7.10s

1943: Lebensraum estate is found in 1943.

1943: The hot Springs Conference is held in the U.S.A.

1944: One leaguer of wine for distilling fetches £5. 10s. 4d. at the fixed price. "Goeie Wyn" fetches £11.

1944: Windmeul co-operative starts in September.

1945: The fixed price for wine for distilling per leaguer of 20% rises to £5. 16s. 5d. "Goeie Wyn" fetches £11.10s.

1944: The fixed price paid for standard distilling wine (of 20% strength) is £9. 10s 6d per leaguer

1945: In May the European war is officially over

1945: Distillers Corporation is formed by Anton Rupert.

1945: Franschoek Vinyards Co-operative started.

1945: The Simonsvlei Co-operative is registered

1945: By the end of the War the K.W.V. makes a total of £6 million by selling "Cape Some" brandy for the war effort.

1946: Kaapzicht – the farm Rozendal – bought.

1946: De Wet Co-operative wine cellar in 1946.

1948: Swartland Co-operative found in April.

1948: Goudini Co-operative wine cellar created.

1948: Vreddendal Co-operative started.

1949: Waboomsrivier co-operative wine cellar in 1949

1949: 452 879 leagues of wine is produced.

1949: Mamraweg wine Celar co-operative is founded.

1949: Botha Co-operative is started.

1957: The full quota system (much in the same format as the one discussed in this thesis) was put in place by KWV, limiting the number of vines a farmer could plant.

1951: SFW launched Lieberstein. It became the biggest selling bottled wine in the world in 1964.

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Addendum A:

An excerpt from the sheet music to the “South African Wine Song”, February 1940

HANS ENDLER DR. A. C. CILLIERS
 Kopiereg Voorbehou.
 Opgedra aan „Ons Voorsitter” MENEER C. W. H KOHLER, die vader van die K.W.V.

Gematie *mf*

As ... droef..heid en
 As ons roem op die

Konj...mer ons gees wil be..druk of die nood..lot ons steeds we er....
 wyn van ons Suid...li..Ke..land. en ons prys ons Kli..maat en na...

skok tuur As die las van die Le...we opsleat Smog na ge..
 As ons dan Kend ge..denk aan ons erf..li...Ke

Addendum B:

An example of the packaging used in the U.S.A. in January 1940

